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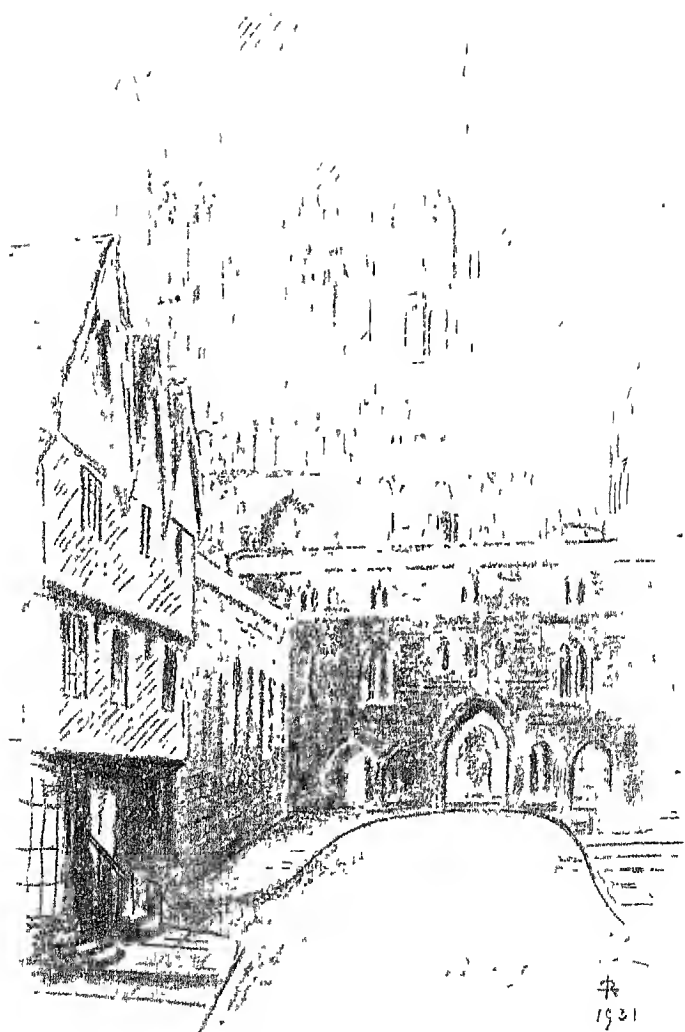
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THE EXCHEQUER GATE

Frontispiece

LINCOLN

BY M · R · LAMBERT M · A
AND M · S · SPRAGUE M · A
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
BY R · WALKER M · A
AND A PREFACE BY THE
RT · REV · W · S · SWAYNE D · D
BISHOP OF LINCOLN 1920-1932

OXFORD: BASIL BLACKWELL

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AUTHORS' NOTE

THE authors of *Boston*, emboldened by the kindly reception of that book, set themselves the task of producing a similar one on Lincoln—a book which would be of service to the pilgrim visiting the City for the first time, to give him a foretaste of his reward in so doing, and some help in the right appreciation of what he would see, also perhaps, to serve in after years to bring back happy memories to his mind. The authors are fully aware that it is impossible to do justice to Lincoln from an architectural, historical, or antiquarian point of view within the limits of this volume, therefore they crave the indulgence of those learned in such matters, with the plea that their book in some measure commemorates the noble work of our ancestors, animated as they were by the desire to give of their best to the service of God, and it has been written in the hope that it may make the glories of Lincoln more widely known.

The authors have freely consulted the records in Lincoln Cathedral Library, documents in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the British Museum, and they are much indebted for valuable advice and help to:

The Rt. Rev. W. S. Swayne, D.D. (sometime Bishop of Lincoln).

Rev. Chancellor Srawley, The Chancery, Lincoln.

Canon Jeudwine, Archdeaconry, Lincoln.

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Canon W. H. Kynaston, Librarian, Lincoln Cathedral.

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Rev. W. Lecke, Boulton Vicarage, Lincoln.

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Rev. G. H. Harris, S. Martin's Vicarage, Lincoln.

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And to Mr. H. E. H. Franklin, M.A., Oxford, whose kindly services both in reading the manuscript and giving useful criticism, were of great assistance.

The Map of Lincoln, the Plans of the Minster and of the Castle, and the Civic Insignia are reproduced by kind permission of Messrs. J. W. Ruddock & Sons, Lincoln.

The Lincoln Imp has been drawn by M. McMeikan from a photograph taken by A. Smith, The Cathedral Photographer, Lincoln.

CONTENTS

Preface	Page ix
Introduction	xi
Chap. I Historical Sketch of Lincoln	1
II The Minster—Historical Sketch	57
III The Minster—Exterior	75
IV The Minster—Interior	86
V The Minster—The Angel Choir	109
VI The Minster Bells	120
VII The Cloisters, Library, and Chapter House	124
VIII The Bishop's Palace	129
IX The Close	138
X Lincoln Castle	142
XI The City Gates	153
XII The Churches of Lincoln	165
XIII The Monastic and Charitable Foundations	187
XIV The Jews' House and other Ancient Buildings	196
XV The Civic Life of Lincoln	202
XVI The Industries of Lincoln	216
XVII The Schools and Centres of Learning	228
XVIII The Museums and Public Halls	237
Appendix	
(a) List of Bishops	241
(b) Vanished Churches	245
(c) List of Authorities	251
Index	253

ILLUSTRATIONS

BY R · WALKER M · A

The Exchequer Gate	<i>Frontispiece</i>
A Map of Lincoln	<i>To face page 1</i>
A Plan of the Minster	57
The Galilee Porch	81
The Nave and Font	91
The Angel Choir	109
The Lincoln Imp	111
The Chapter House	124
The Castle Gate	142
A Plan of the Castle	149
Newport Arch	154
The Stonebow	157
Pottergate Arch	160
The Old Bridge	163
The Jews' House and Steep Hill	196
The House of Aaron the Jew	197
Brayford	202
S. Hugh	203
The Civic Insignia	213

PREFACE

A RETIRED Bishop of Lincoln accounts it a privilege to contribute a preface to this friendly book about a friendly city. Now that his days in Lincoln are over he naturally looks back upon the city, its citizens, and its Cathedral with special affection.

If the authors have sometimes praised us and our city beyond our deserts we are in no way inclined to find fault with them. A biographer or the historian of a city should approach his subject with something of admiration and affection, for it is only those who love who see. Certainly Lincoln has cast its spell on the writers of this book. We could hardly look for kindlier chroniclers. Nor is it strange that so it should be. Here certainly is an epitome of the history of England, and of the good and ill fortune of the Church in England. Lincoln is at once ancient and modern. It is a modern community, not simply ecclesiastical, but with a large infusion of vigorous and, to-day, sorely tried business men, with adequate places of education, and with the Depot of the Lincolnshire Regiment.

It is a subject for thanksgiving that at a time of many difficulties it has been possible to carry through such a restoration of the fabric of the Cathedral that the Minster to-day stands more sound and secure than it ever has done since it was first builded. The mediaeval builders were great artists, great and daring builders, but as engineers they were less well-equipped, and their estimate of strains and stresses we should account dangerous. This great work of restoration will always be connected with the names of two men, Francis Fox, the Christian engineer, and Thomas Fry, the indomitable Dean. These good old men did not live to see the completion of the work which they had so boldly inaugurated, but their spirit lived with us,

and in a very real sense the work was theirs until its fortunate conclusion. Greatly were we helped by friends in America, and throughout England, but it was to the credit of the Diocese of Lincoln that year by year it raised some £10,000 annually for the work, without any diminution or omission, of its gifts or work in other directions. I am thankful that I was privileged to see the beginning, and to give thanks at the conclusion of the work. Lincolnshire is perhaps still the least-known county in England, and on that account is the last remaining portion of old England. Very heartily do I commend this book to all who love Lincoln and its great and splendid Church. It will also serve well those who are discovering Lincoln for the first time, and who will read its story, as they pass about its streets, at least from the days of the Roman occupation until to-day, when we look forward to an unknown future with hope and caution and courage derived from the manifold record of the past.

W. S. SWAYNE

(Sometime Bishop of Lincoln).

INTRODUCTION

"A City built upon the top of a high hill, and established, can neither fall nor be hid."

ON the brow of the hill rising above the wide expanse of fenland, stands the historic old town of Lincoln; noble in situation, and unsurpassed in beauty and variety of architecture, it ranks highly among the ancient cities of England.

Lincoln to-day, with nearly 70,000 inhabitants, is the capital of the County to which it gives its name. Situated 200 feet above the level of the sea, it commands the gap in the great escarpment of Jurassic limestone, the course of which can be traced from Cleveland to the Cotswolds. Through this gap the waters of the River Witham wend their way to the sea, and at some remote period the River Trent also flowed along this valley. The country around is almost flat; this being due to the horizontal strata of clay and limestone, but the cliff formed by the gap, rises steeply from the wide clay vale of the Trent on the west, and sinks gradually to the great expanse of fenland stretching out to the coast.

The beginning of this site as a place of human habitation takes us back to prehistoric times when much of the neighbourhood was covered with virgin oak forests, and the land in the valleys was marshy and undrained. In that age men chose bare uplands and highly placed mounds on which to build their huts of timber, wattle or mud; places, too, secure against surprise attacks by enemies or wild animals.

Naturally defended on three sides by extensive stretches of water, the cliff was only accessible along the ridge of high land from the north, for at that time the hill slopes

were covered with oak trees, shrubs and undergrowth, which were almost impenetrable.

In later times, too, this bold promontory was recognized as a position of importance, and consequently each wave of invasion has contributed to the history of Lincoln.

Here, then, they built the British town, which to early writers was known as 'Llyndun,' a name denoting its geographical position, 'llyn' being the Celtic word for 'pool' and 'dun' a hill, for the hill they occupied overlooked a large mere, later known as 'Swanpool,' as well as the vast expanse of fenland beyond, then a series of shallow lakes and pools.

At a later period when Britain became a Roman province, this early British town was swept away, and in its place arose a miniature Rome—a copy of the great original—built with all the art and solidity known to the most highly civilized people of the world at that time. It retained, indeed, its name, but in Latinized form, viz., Lindum Colonia.

Lindum Colonia was strongly fortified, and in time became one of the chief Roman cities in Britain, adorned with temples, courts, theatres, and statues, and exercising jurisdiction over the neighbouring country.

Numerous remains of this Roman city, lying buried nine to twelve feet beneath the surface, have been discovered in almost every part of Lincoln and its precincts.

Portions of the walls which protected Lindum Colonia are still well preserved; the old gateway—Newport Arch—is the only one of Roman construction remaining in England, and Mint Wall, a huge fragment of masonry, still stands to remind us of the early days of Lincoln's importance and prosperity. The present High Street follows the Roman highway—Ermine Street. This cuts straight through the city and up the steep hill, not turning aside nor deviating from its northward course. No traffic uses this steep portion now, the modern road providing a gentler, but still steep gradient.

Remains of a colonnade, no doubt part of the Forum, and portions of the Basilica, or Courts of Law, are still to be seen and give some idea of the magnificence of the buildings which adorned this Roman City. A Roman hypocaust, a milestone which stood in the centre of the city, altars, pottery, urns, and other relics, provide a rich field of interest for the archæologist and historian.

Moreover, Lindum Colonia doubtless had a full complement of Roman officials, who built for themselves villas in which they could live apart from the busy life of the City; the remains of these villas which have been brought to light enable us to form an idea of their plan and size, and to judge of the high standard of luxury and refinement which existed among the ruling classes of those days.

After the withdrawal of the Romans, successive invaders, Angles, Danes, and Normans, in turn took possession of the City on the hill, and left their mark upon it. Some came to destroy, others to rebuild, but evidence of their occupation is still to be found in the names of streets and in fragments of buildings. Thus Hungate, Danesgate, and other roads recall the Danish settlement.

The great castle on the rock, one of the first built in England by William the Conqueror, stands to remind us of the stern Norman rule.

The noble Cathedral, the crowning glory of Lincoln, perpetuates the memory of the great Bishops Remigius, Alexander, Hugh, and Grosseteste. The remains and sites of bygone churches testify to the zeal and devotion of our Saxon and Norman forefathers, while the picturesque homes of the Jews still stand to remind us of the widespread activities of Aaron of Lincoln and his brethren, the great financiers of the Middle Ages.

Indeed, the magnificence of bygone Lincoln may be conceived from the vast number of beautiful Saxon and Norman doorways and other fragments of domestic buildings, executed in the most finished manner, to be met

with in almost every street. The remains of domestic architecture of the Middle Ages are abundant and very valuable, and Gough asserts 'There are more remains of old buildings in this City than in any other place in England.'

Lincoln, too, has many natural advantages. Its climate is dry, sunny, and invigorating; and it has an annual rainfall of only 23 inches, being situated in the driest part of England, while the amount of sunshine it receives is greater than that of many other places in the British Isles.

The natural vegetation of the district also is interesting, though it shows little variation owing to the regularity of the surface; formerly the clays were covered with ash and oak wood associations, while hazel formed the dominant shrub. Until the eighteenth century the heath was a desolate waste, but now crops of corn have replaced the scanty sheep pasture and rabbit warrens.

The large plain of fenland to the east, formerly believed to be sterile, is now unequalled in fertility. Oozy islands, originally intersecting shallow lakes and meres, bright in summer with sedge and water plants, are now rich corn-lands. The roads of the drier parts, formerly outlined by willows and alders, along which the fen-dwellers often walked on stilts, are now built high and dry and are among the best in England. In the olden days the abundance of fish and waterfowl on the undrained fens provided a livelihood for many of the inhabitants. Probably on account of this natural food supply, numerous religious houses were built along the banks of the River Witham. After the drainage of the Fens, however, much of the wild life disappeared, and the natural vegetation gave place to corn and root crops unequalled elsewhere in Britain.

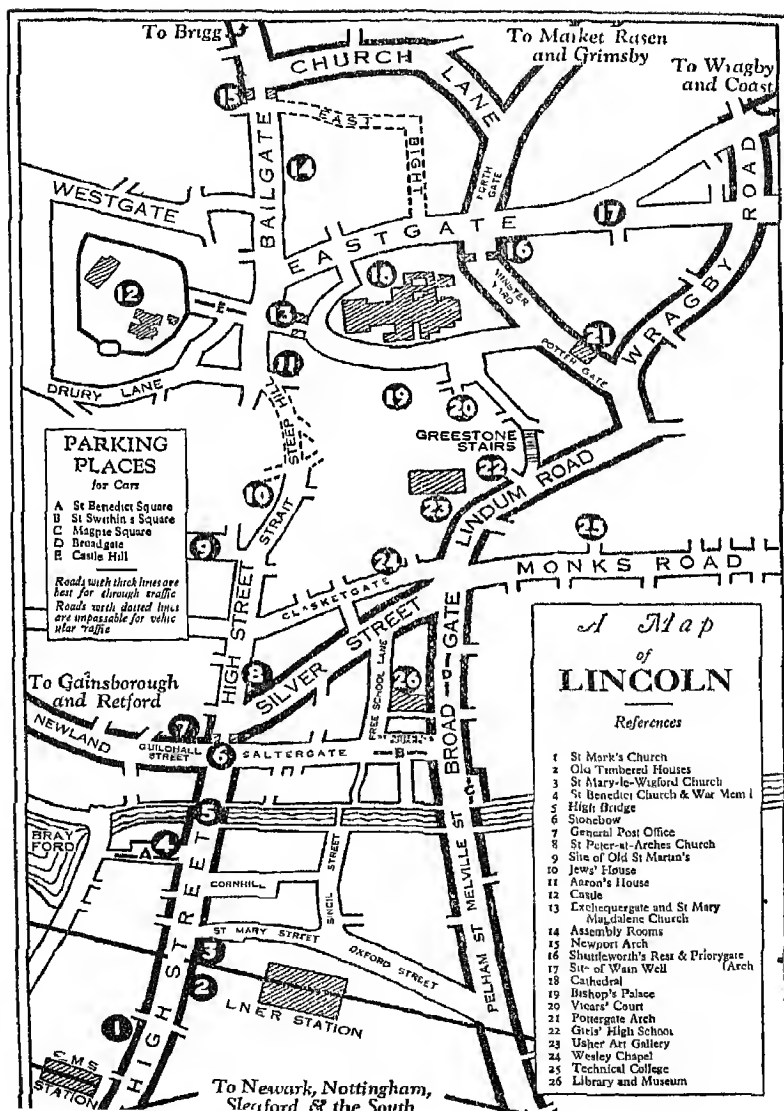
The neighbourhood thus became transformed into rich farm lands, and Lincolnshire soon developed into the foremost agricultural county in England. As more scientific methods of farming were adopted, engineering works sprang up in and around the City, which quickly grew into a

large manufacturing centre for all kinds of agricultural machinery. Consequently by 1914 Lincoln had become a most prosperous City, doing a large home and foreign trade, and exporting machinery to all parts of the world, but the Great War dealt a heavy blow to this industry.

Lincoln to-day is a municipal, county and parliamentary borough, and has all the attributes of a great city, and during the past century has extended its boundaries in all directions. In the lower part of the town are the engineering works, iron foundries, mills, and nursery gardens; shops, hotels, and Public Halls occupy the centre of the City, while the arboretum, commons, and public parks provide pleasant and quiet retreats from the bustle and life of the streets.

From the earliest times Lincoln has been a centre of education, and renowned for learning and culture; to-day the City, well equipped with colleges and schools, maintains its old tradition.

Both the City of Lincoln and the Minster are dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and this fact is continually recalled to our minds as we pass through its streets. The arms of the City contain a silver fleur-de-lys—the emblem of Our Lady—on a red cross, while those of the See have the figure of the Blessed Mother with the Holy Child in her arms. A statue of S. Mary is seen on the Stonebow, the south entrance way to the City, while carvings representing the Holy Virgin are found not only in prominent positions but in some cases hidden away in quite unexpected places. There is perhaps no other town in England which reminds us so forcibly and so frequently of the devotion of its citizens of olden time to their patron saint.



CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LINCOLN

LINCOLN, like so many other English towns and cities, recapitulates the earlier part of its history in its very name. Lindum, the name by which it was known to the Romans, is apparently a Latinized form of Llyndun, a Celtic name, meaning the hill-fort by the pool. The steep hill overlooking the River Witham, where it cuts through the ridge known as Lincoln Edge, offered an ideal site for a fort, and here, probably on the very crest of the hill, lay the ancient British town. Some authorities think that the mound on which the keep of Lincoln Castle stands may be British in origin.

At the time of the Roman conquest Lincolnshire was peopled by the Coritani; the name is said to be derived from two Celtic words, meaning sheep and oxen. Thus we may picture to ourselves sheep grazing on the Lincoln Wolds at that distant time, just as in the fourteenth century, when Lincoln was the Staple town for wool, or even at the present day. Whcat, however, now one of the most important Lincolnshire crops, was at that time grown only in the south of England. The Coritani seem to have been less warlike than their neighbours, the Iceni on the south, and the Brigantes on the north, and no record exists of the conquest of Lincolnshire by the Romans, but it must have taken place at some time before A.D. 70, when Petilius Cerealis made a successful campaign against the Brigantes.

The Roman town of Lindum stood on the brow of the hill, possibly on the site now occupied by the castle and cathedral. It was rectangular in shape, about thirty-eight acres in area, and was surrounded by walls twenty feet high and eight feet thick. Midway in each wall was a gate, open-

ing into one of the four cross-roads, which divided the city into four quarters. The foundation of this Roman town probably dates from the time of Agricola. Lindum was a very important place in Roman Britain, as we should expect from its strategic position. It commanded navigation along the Witham, and along the Foss Dyke to the Trent, and on it converged no fewer than five arterial roads, of which the chief were Ermine Street, leading from Pevensy to Stamford and Lincoln, and finally to Flashmire on the Humber, and the Fosse Way, from Exeter, through Cirencester and Leicester, to Lincoln. These roads ran along causeways, raised above the level of the surrounding country. Among the works carried out by the Romans, in addition to the construction of roads, were the cutting of the Foss Dyke, Car Dyke, and Sincil Dyke, and the making of embankments across the five openings in a low range of hills lying to the north of Lincoln, to block out the Trent floods.

Lincoln was probably constituted a Colonia between A.D. 70-80. A colony was a self-governing municipality, peopled for the most part by discharged legionaries. Lands were assigned to them, and on these they settled with their wives and children, thus becoming part of the permanent population. A colony was organized after the pattern of Rome, and was governed by two magistrates, called Duumvirs, who represented the Consuls, and a miniature Senate. These ruled the town and the surrounding territory.

The references to Roman Lincoln in extant documents are very scanty. It is first mentioned by Claudius Ptolemaeus, A.D. 120, who says that Lindum (Lincoln) and Ratae (Leicester) were the two chief towns of the Coritani. It is mentioned again in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus (211-217), and is called Lindum Colonia in the *Ravenna Catalogue*.

Almost certainly there was a Christian church in Lincoln

at the beginning of the fourth century. We read that three British bishops attended the Council of Arles A.D. 314; these were Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and 'Adelfius Episcopus de civitate Coloniae Londinensium.' Now there cannot have been two Bishops of London, and London was never a Colonia; thus it has been suggested that 'Londinensium' should be read 'Lindenensium.' This is the view of the most recent authorities, and it is stated as a fact in the latest edition (1929) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that the Bishop of Lincoln attended the Council of Arles.

The most flourishing period of Lindum Colonia was from A.D. 260-340; possibly Carausius, who made himself master of Britain in 287, lived there for a time.

Nothing is known of the history of Lincoln for the next three hundred years or more. At the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasions, Lincolnshire was settled by the Angles, and all traces of Christianity disappeared. Bede records that in 628 Paulinus preached in Lindsey, and converted Blecca, the Governor of Lincoln, and all his family. Paulinus also built in Lincoln a stone church, and there he afterwards consecrated Honorius as Archbishop of Canterbury, in succession to Justus. In 678 Eadhed was consecrated first Bishop of Lindsey; he fixed his seat not at Lincoln but at Sidnacester. Nearly three hundred years later, in 952, Leofwin, Bishop of Lindsey, made Dorchester, near Oxford, his see-city, abandoning Sidnacester on account of the growth of the Danish power.

In 787 the attacks of the Danes began; they ravaged different parts of the coast, and, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in 851 for the first time wintered in England. Lincoln was exposed to direct attack by the Danes, for at that time it was the sea-port of the county, and the tide came up to its walls. Lincoln could also be reached by water by way of the Trent, and the Foss Dyke. During the twelve years from 866 to 878 the Danish forces were

almost continuously in East Anglia, Lincolnshire, and the adjacent counties. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we read that in 866 the 'heathen army' wintered among the East Angles, who made peace with them, and provided them with horses.

And in the following year 'the army' went from East Anglia over the Humber to York; they must therefore have passed through Lincolnshire, but there is no mention of Lincoln itself. One entry records that the Mercians made peace with the army. Perhaps the men of Lincoln were included in this peace, and thus their City escaped destruction. At length, by the Treaty of Wedmore (July 879), England, north and east of Watling Street, was ceded to the Danes, and Lincoln itself became known as one of the Five Danish Burghs, the four others being Nottingham, Derby, Stamford and Leicester.

Just as the Roman occupation is recalled by the name of the City, so the memory of the Danish inhabitants survives in the names of the streets, many of which are styled 'gates,' i.e., way, instead of 'street.' Thus we find in Lincoln: Broadgate, Danesgate, Flaxengate, Hungate, Thorngate, Saltergate, just as in Derby and Whitby, both of them towns where Danish influence was strong, we find Irongate and Flowergate respectively. It should also be noted that the twelve 'lawmen' of Lincoln, who are mentioned in *Domesday Book*, are a Danish institution.

The strife between the Danes and the English was not ended by the Treaty of Wedmore, for in 911 the Danes 'broke the peace, and despised whatever peace Edward and his Witan offered them, and overran the land of Mercia' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), while in 942 'King Edmund led his army into that part of Mercia which had long been subject to the heathen, conquering the Danes and triumphantly recovering the Five Burghs, he purified these towns from heathenism, and by God's grace restored to them the light of the gospel.' (Henry of Huntingdon.) In 988 fresh inva-

sions of the Danes began, and for ten years they ravaged the country far and wide, Sweyn being their chief leader. After the massacre of the Danes on November 13th, 1002, Sweyn, whose sister had been murdered, took a terrible revenge, laying waste the country, plundering and burning. Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote only a hundred years or so later, depicts vividly the terror caused by these raids:— 'All England trembled before Sweyn, like the rustling of a bed of reeds shaken by the west wind.' Sweyn now aimed at conquering the whole country; the Five Burghs submitted to him, and so did most of the north and east of England. After his death, Lincolnshire was ravaged both by the English and the Danes, Lincoln itself being burnt by Ethelred in 1014, taken by Edmund Ironside in 1016, and almost immediately retaken by Canute, in whose hands it finally remained.

With the Norman Conquest, the history of Lincoln becomes much more detailed, and the old chroniclers preserve for us lifelike portraits of the bishops of the diocese, and the kings who visited the city.

William the Conqueror, recognizing the importance of the position of Lincoln, built a strong castle there in 1068, destroying part of the city to make room for it. Lincoln seems to have fallen on evil days about this time, for we read in *Domesday Book* that there were:

'Two hundred mansions decayed; of these, one hundred and fifty-six were pulled down to make room for the Castle; the remainder are without the bounds of the Castle, still standing in their decayed condition, not because of any oppression by the sheriff and his officers, but because of mishaps, poverty and fire.'

At this time Lincoln was governed by twelve lawmen; these, as has been noted, seem to be a Danish institution. They possessed rights of sac and soke, as did various nobles. Thus we read, 'Earl Hugh has one mansion with sac and soke. The Countess Judith has a mansion without sac and soke, and Ivo Taillebois claims this, and appeals to the

burgesses for their verdict.' Remigius, the bishop, had one small manor, with sac and soke, and, in addition, thol and theam. Owners of sac and soke were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Hundred or Wapentake; they had their own courts, called Hallmotes, which were held in the Hall of the person who possessed sac and soke. 'Sac was jurisdiction in criminal suits, while soke was the right of inquisition. Thol was the right of taking tolls, implying exemption from paying them, and theam the right of settling civil disputes among the villeins.' (Cunningham.)

Remigius, mentioned above, had been consecrated Bishop of Dorchester in 1068. Dorchester was inconveniently situated in the extreme south of the diocese of Lincoln, at that time the largest in England, and Remigius therefore transferred his seat to Lincoln, probably in 1073. 'He signs himself "Episcopus Dorcacensis" at the Council of Windsor, 1072, and "Episcopus Lincolniensis" at the Council of London, 1075, so the transference of the See must have taken place between these dates.' (Mansel Sympton.) Remigius bought land on the summit of the hill near the castle, and began to build the Cathedral; he did not, however, live to see the completion of his work, for he died on the eve of the day appointed for its consecration. Henry of Huntingdon gives the following account of Remigius: 'Remi was small in stature, but great in heart; his complexion was dark, but his conduct was clear. He was indeed, on one occasion, accused of treason against the king, but one of his followers cleared him of the charge by the ordeal of red-hot iron, and thus restored him to the royal favour.'

Under the Norman kings, Lincoln was one of the most populous cities in England, resorted to both by land and water, and possessing a large share of the export and import trade of the kingdom. It was, as in Danish times, the seaport of the county, and the tide still reached the city walls. The old connection with Scandinavia seems to have been

maintained, for Orderic tells us that a rich citizen of Lincoln kept the treasure of Magnus Barfod, King of Norway, and, on the death of the latter, in 1103, hoped to retain it for his own use. Henry I required, however, that the treasure should be given up to him, and he received more than twenty thousand pounds of silver.

The strength and the important position of the Castle built by William the Conqueror brought much fighting on Lincoln during the next hundred years. When the Empress Matilda came to England in 1140, she took up her abode in Lincoln, fortified it, and stored it with provisions; Stephen besieged and took the City, but the Empress escaped. In the next year (1141) Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and his half-brother, William, Earl of Lincoln, seized the Castle by a stratagem. News of this was sent by Bishop Alexander and the citizens to Stephen, who assembled an army, marched on Lincoln without declaring war (this was a breach of feudal usage), and besieged the two brothers in the Castle. Ranulf, with a few horsemen, crept out at night, and made for Cheshire. He appealed for help to his father-in-law, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and the two earls together hurried to Lincoln to raise the siege. They crossed an almost impassable marsh, and offered battle to the King, on Candlemas Day, 1141. Earlier on that day, during the service in the Cathedral, when the King made his accustomed offering, a wax candle, it broke as he placed it in the hands of Bishop Alexander. The pyx also snapped its chain, and fell on the altar while the bishop was celebrating; these things were held to be omens of the King's defeat.

The battle was fought on the western slopes of the city; Stephen's horsemen were routed at the first attack, and he and his infantry were surrounded. Stephen fought bravely, but when his battle-axe and sword in turn had broken in his hand, William de Kaheims seized him by the helmet and captured him. 'The City,' says Henry of Huntingdon,

'was given up to plunder according to the laws of war,' i.e., as having supported Stephen.

'Many of the chief citizens of Lincoln, knowing what fate awaited them, crowded into skiffs, which were overladen and sank, and five hundred perished in the water.' (Pearson.) From the comparative ease of the victory, this battle was known as the Joust of Lincoln.

Only two years later, Stephen again besieged Lincoln Castle, but eighty of his workmen were suffocated in the trenches, and the King broke up the siege. In 1146 Ranulf was arrested at Northampton, and kept prisoner until he gave up not only Lincoln Castle, which he had seized by stratagem, but all the other castles which were his by right. Next year Stephen kept Christmas at Lincoln, wearing his crown within the walls despite the popular superstition that this was an unlucky thing to do. Very soon after Stephen's departure, Ranulf again appeared with an armed force, and attempted to seize the Castle, but he was driven off by the citizens.

The wretched condition of the country during these years of fighting is well described by Brompton: '*Nam tam impotens Rex et languida Lex erat, et unusquisque quod sibi rectum vel malum videbatur pro suo Libito faciebat.*' (For the King was powerless and the law had no force, and every man did what seemed to him good or ill, as he pleased.)

With the accession of Henry II better days began. The King was crowned a second time at Lincoln, but outside the walls of the city, at Wikeford; apparently he would not be crowned within the city because of the superstition mentioned above. It may here be noted that in 1165, after the stormy scene which ended the Council of Northampton, Becket passed through Lincoln and there assumed a disguise, afterwards continuing his flight to the coast, and thence to France. Henry visited Lincoln a second time in 1170, and it would seem that he had the welfare of the city

much at heart, for he granted the citizens no fewer than six charters, mostly dealing with trade. This would seem to have declined during the disturbances of Stephen's reign, for in the earliest of these six charters we read: 'I command that ye cause the foreign merchants to come to Lincoln, and there to deal with their wares as reasonably and justly as they were wont to deal in the time of King Henry, my grandfather; lest my provosts of Lincoln lose my royal customs.' Another charter mentions a merchant gild; a third requires that merchants from Norway bringing goods to any part of Lincolnshire shall pay their tolls to the provosts of Lincoln; and yet another provides that no stranger merchant shall dye or sell cloth in Lincoln, but only those who are in the gild.

But the greatest benefit conferred by Henry on Lincoln was the appointment of Hugh of Avalon as Bishop. Hugh was born about 1140, and after the death of his mother, when he was only eight years old, he and his father together entered a Priory of Regular Canons. About 1164 Hugh became a monk at the Grande Chartreuse, and ten years later was made Procurator. Holding this office, Hugh became widely known as a man of great sanctity and outstanding ability, and when Henry II wished to find a prior for the Carthusian monastery which he had founded at Witham in Somersetshire, he requested that Hugh might be sent to England. The monastery prospered under Hugh's rule, and in 1186, the Sec of Lincoln being vacant, Henry recommended the canons to elect Hugh. They did so, but Hugh declared that the election was not free, having been made to please the King; he also said that he could not accept the bishopric without the consent of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse. This was obtained; the canons elected Hugh a second time unanimously, and he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln. On his journey to Winchester to receive consecration, he travelled in his white monastic habit, carrying his bedding, etc., strapped behind.

him on his horse. The clergy who accompanied him seem to have thought this was undignified, as, on approaching some town, probably Marlborough, one of them cut the strap undetected. Hugh's simplicity is seen also in the story of his installation feast. The steward suggested that some deer from the Bishop's park should be killed to provide venison for the guests. 'Take three hundred,' said Hugh, 'and do not hesitate to add to the number if you think fit.' This became a standing joke at court.

Hugh always strove to defend the poor and oppressed, and he had a special horror of the forest-laws and of the foresters, on account of their cruelty. He said the word forester was derived from 'foris' (outside) and 'stare' (to stand), and was therefore equivalent to outsider. On one occasion, Hugh, when Prior of Witham, found at the door of the King's chamber certain foresters, who were protesting loudly and insolently at being refused admittance. 'Who are you?' asked Hugh. They answered 'Forestarii sumus.' (We are foresters.) 'Forestarii foris stent' (Let the outsiders remain outside), replied Hugh. The King within the chamber, hearing this, laughed and came out to meet him, and the prior greeted him thus: 'This parable touches you. For when the poor, whom they torture, enter into Paradise, you will stand outside with the foresters.'

Later on, when Hugh was Bishop of Lincoln, he learnt that some of his dependents had been harshly and illegally dealt with by the Chief Forester, whom he consequently excommunicated. The King was furious at this treatment of one of his high officials, and Hugh, who was then at Dorchester, was summoned to the royal presence at Woodstock to answer for his conduct. When Hugh arrived he found the King sitting on the ground in a grove, with all his nobles round him. No one moved or spoke. Hugh pushed one of the nobles aside, and seated himself by the King, who still kept silence. At length, however, he

asked for needle and thread, and began stitching up a bandage on his finger, which he had hurt while hunting. Hugh watched him for a time, and then remarked, 'How like you are now to your cousins of Falaise,' alluding to his descent, through the mother of William the Conqueror, from the leather-workers of Falaise. Henry rolled over on his face in fits of laughter, and could make no further show of displeasure. When he remonstrated against the excommunication of the Chief Forester, Hugh reminded the King that he himself had wished him to be Bishop, and that a bishop must do his duty for the good of the Church. Hugh gained his point, and stood higher in the royal favour than ever. The Chief Forester had to submit to penance, part of which was a scourging; he received absolution, and afterwards became Hugh's firm friend.

Hugh showed himself equally resolute in dealing with Richard I, who in 1198 demanded an aid of three hundred knights' service for a year, for his war in Normandy. Hugh opposed this, saying that military service from the Church of Lincoln was due only in England, and not abroad. He argued that if he yielded to the King's demand, his action might create a precedent, to the detriment of the Church. Richard ordered that all Hugh's possessions should be forfeited, but the royal officers dared not meddle with the Bishop. Hugh went to France, reached Rocher d'Andelys, and found Richard at Mass. Entering the chapel, Hugh saluted the King, who was standing near the door, and demanded a kiss, but Richard turned away with an angry look. Nothing daunted, Hugh seized him by his dress, shook him well, and at length compelled him to kiss him. Hugh then went forward into the sanctuary, and knelt devoutly by the corner of the altar. At the end of the service the officiating archbishop handed the pax to Richard, who presented it to Hugh, and they parted good friends.

The old chroniclers give us a most attractive picture of

Hugh, dwelling on his kindness to the sick and the poor, his love of children, and his careful and unwearied performance of his episcopal duties. His biographer, Adam, Abbot of Eynsham, says that nothing caused him more anxiety than the choice of suitable persons for vacant benefices. He had a special care for the burial of the dead, and it is said that he kept both Henry II and Richard I waiting for dinner, while he officiated at funerals.

Roger of Wendover specially mentions Hugh's care for the lepers; these he frequently visited and even kissed. His Chancellor, William, wishing to test the Bishop's humility, remarked to him, 'Martin healed a leper by his kiss; you do not heal the lepers whom you kiss.' 'Martin's kiss healed the body of the leper,' answered Hugh, 'but the kiss of the leper heals my soul.'

In the *Magna Vita* we read that more than once when on the death of a tenant, a horse or an ox fell as 'heriot' to Hugh's share, he restored it to the widow and children, lest they should be impoverished.

The chroniclers seem to delight in dwelling on the gentler side of Hugh's character. Giraldus Cambrensis, to whom we owe the story of S. Hugh and his swan, tells us that he was full of talk and merriment and fun. There is frequent mention of his love of wild creatures. At the Grande Chartreuse he tamed the squirrels and the birds, and at Witham he had a wild bird (*burneta*) as a pet, while at Stow, near Lincoln, the famous swan was his constant companion. On the very day that Hugh was enthroned at Lincoln, a strange swan appeared on the lake at Stow, where the Bishop's palace was situated; it was larger and stronger than ordinary swans, and its beak was yellow. (This description seems to indicate that it was a whooper, or wild swan.) It seemed inclined to be tame, and was brought to Hugh in his chamber to be admired. It at once showed itself friendly to him, took bread from his hand, and ate it. When Hugh was at Stow the swan was his constant com-

panion. Sometimes it would thrust its head and neck up his wide sleeve, and make a noise as if talking to him, while at night it kept watch by Hugh's bed, driving away any who dared draw near. When the Bishop left Stow, the swan went back to the lake, but as soon as the baggage-carts appeared, which were a sign of his return, the swan left the lake and entered the palace. As soon as it heard Hugh's voice, it ran to him, and accompanied him to his inner chamber. On Hugh's last visit to Stow at Easter 1200, the swan did not come to greet him as usual. He ordered it to be brought to him, but it hid itself and was only caught with difficulty, and when brought into Hugh's presence it showed no joy, but hung its head and seemed unhappy. After Hugh's death the swan remained at Stow for a long while.

Not only the poor and the lepers loved Hugh. The Jews, at that time generally hated, and often victims of popular violence, were protected by him. In the riots which took place soon after the accession of Richard I, when the Jews fled for refuge to Lincoln Castle, the mob attacked the Minster, where the bonds of the Jews were stored, hoping to destroy the evidence of their indebtedness. Hugh stood his ground in the Minster, and turned the mob from their purpose.

At the time of Richard's death Hugh was in Normandy and he subsequently met John, whom he warned most seriously to exercise his royal power as in the sight of God.

The next year Hugh visited the Grande Chartreuse, and his own old home. While in France he fell ill, and with extreme difficulty accomplished the journey to his house in London, where he died on November 17th, 1200; his body was taken to Lincoln and buried in the Minster, King John himself helping to carry him to the grave. The Jews followed the funeral procession, weeping, and beating their breasts and crying out that he was indeed a true servant of

the Most High. The following verses by John of Leicester were laid on the bier at the funeral:

Pontificum baculus, monachorum norma, scholarum
Consultor, regum malleus, Hugo fuit.
(Mainstay of bishops, pattern of monks, adviser
of schools, hammer of kings—such was Hugh.)

Hugh was canonized in 1220, and his shrine was frequented by crowds of pilgrims until the Reformation.

This seems to be a suitable place for an account of the Jews in Lincoln. William I permitted great numbers of Jews to come over from Rouen and settle in England; they spread through various towns, of which Lincoln was one, and built synagogues. Aaron of Lincoln is the outstanding figure in the history of the Lincoln Jewry. At this time cathedrals, parish-churches, abbeys, etc., were being built all over the country, and sums of ready money were needed to carry on the work. But all the ready money was in the hands of the Jews, who thus became the great financiers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of these financiers Aaron was the chief; he lent large sums of money to the king, the abbots of St. Albans, Rivaulx, Kirkstall, etc. In 1173 when Geoffrey Plantagenet became Bishop of Lincoln, one of his first acts was to redeem the plate of Lincoln Minster, which his predecessor had pledged to Aaron. The chronicler of St. Albans relates that Abbot Simon, who died in 1183, had left the abbey in debt to Aaron for a very large sum. 'Aaron the Jew,' he writes, 'who held us in his debt, coming to the house of S. Alban in great pride and boasting, with great threats kept on boasting that it was he who had made the window for our S. Alban, and that he had prepared for the saint a home when without one.' Aaron died towards the end of 1186; his immense riches became the property of the king, and all debts due to him thereupon became due to the king. So great was the amount of these debts that a special branch of the Treasury, known as the Exchequer of Aaron, was set

up to deal with them. The treasure found in Aaron's house was despatched to Normandy, but the ship that carried it went down in mid-Channel.

The next incident in the history of the Jews of Lincoln is the story of 'Little S. Hugh,' which we find in Matthew Paris, a contemporary writer. He tells us that in 1255 the Jews in Lincoln kidnapped Hugh, a little Christian boy, eight years old, tortured him in many ways, crowned him with thorns, and finally, after crucifying him, pierced his heart with a lance. Hugh's mother, who had been seeking her son, heard that he had been playing with some Jewish boys, and she made her way into the house which he had been seen to enter. Here she found the body of little Hugh in a well, into which it had been thrown. The bailiffs of the city were summoned, and a crowd of citizens flocked to the spot. John of Lexington, 'a man of learning, prudent and discreet,' addressed a Jew named Copin, who had been seized, and promised that his life should be spared if he would tell the truth as to what had happened. Copin, who was the owner of the house where the body was found, confessed that Hugh had been put to death, and said that his murderers had not been able to conceal the corpse. Little Hugh was buried in the Minster, and an altar-tomb was erected over his grave. Henry III visited Lincoln to inquire about the murder; he reproved John of Lexington for promising that Copin's life should be spared, and he ordered that an inquisition should be made by the King's Justiciaries. Copin now made another confession, implicating many Jews all over England. Copin himself and eighteen of the most prominent Jews in Lincoln were condemned and hanged. About eighty others, from different parts of England, who had been accused by Copin, were imprisoned in the Tower of London, but were finally released at the intercession of the Grey Friars.

In 1275 Copin's house, which is still known as the Jews' House, belonged to a wealthy Jewess, Belaset of Wallingford.

Her daughter, Judith, it is recorded, married Aaron the son of Benjamin, and Belaset's wedding gift to them was twenty marks, and a Hebrew Bible written on calfskin. Belaset was hanged in 1290, on a charge of clipping the King's coin, and in the same year the Jews were expelled from England.

To resume our narrative:—During the absence of Richard I in Palestine, an insurrection broke out, headed by Prince John; the ostensible object of the rising was to confirm Gerard de Camville in the shrievalty of Lincolnshire, which he had bought from the King. De Camville was also Constable of Lincoln Castle in right of his wife, Nicholaa de la Haya, but Longchamp, the Chief Justiciary and President of the Council of Regency, demanded that he should surrender both the Castle and the shrievalty. Longchamp blockaded Nicholaa in Lincoln; John retaliated by seizing Nottingham. The Archbishop of Rouen now interposed, and persuaded the combatants to meet in conference. De Camville was reinstated, but was afterwards deprived by Richard both of the shrievalty and the Castle at the Council of Nottingham, 1194. He regained his position, however, in the next reign. Lincoln was consistently loyal to King John, who visited it several times. He was there in November 1200 to receive William of Scotland, who did homage for his kingdom, and swore fealty on the primatial cross of Archbishop Hubert. During the whole of John's reign Lincoln Castle was held by Nicholaa de la Haya. An 'Inquisition' of Edward I's, given by Kennett, tells us that when John visited Lincoln towards the end of his reign, Nicholaa handed over to him the keys of the Castle, and begged that she might be relieved of the responsibility on account of her age. John returned the keys with kind words, and asked her to retain command of the Castle. When the barons took up arms against John in 1216 they gained possession of the city of Lincoln, but Nicholaa held the Castle resolutely for the King until he raised the siege

only a few weeks before his death. In the next year (1217) Lincoln again fell into the hands of the barons who were supporting Louis in his attempt to win the crown, and again the Castle, under Nicholaa, held out for the King (Henry III). William, Earl Marshal, gathered together an army and marched on Lincoln. The barons and the French forces, hearing of the enemy's approach, sent out the Earl of Winchester and others to survey them. They under-estimated the strength of their opponents, and returned saying that their own forces were the more numerous, and advising that their army should go to meet the enemy as far as the ascent of the hill, 'for if we do this we shall take them like larks.' This advice was rejected, and the barons continued their attacks on the Castle. Some of the King's army approached Lincoln in the neighbourhood of the Castle and were recognized by the garrison. A message was sent secretly inviting them to enter the Castle by a postern gate, which lay outside the defences of the city. Fawkes de Breauté and his followers and all the crossbow-men entered the Castle, while the rest of the King's army advanced on the north gate. Fawkes and his men made a sudden attack from the walls of the Castle, hurling stones and darts, and caused great destruction. Fawkes then made a sally and was taken prisoner, but was rescued by the crossbow-men. The King's army meanwhile had broken open the north gate and entered the city; the crossbow-men killed the horses of the barons, 'piercing them with darts or cutting their throats like pigs,' and the heavily-armed riders, unable to escape, were forced to surrender. The Count of Perche, who commanded the French forces, was surrounded, and, refusing to surrender to any Englishman, was slain. Many fugitives tried to escape by the south gate, but this had been so constructed that, when it had been opened for egress, a wooden cross-bar, falling into its place, closed the door again. In the confusion no one thought of propping the door open, and

finally the greater part of the barons' army was captured. As both the canons and the townsfolk had sided against the king, the City was given over to pillage; even the churches and the Minster did not escape. Many matrons of the City, fleeing from the soldiery, got into little boats, with their children and servants and household goods; but the boats were overladen, and the women did not know how to manage them, thus they all perished. (Roger of Wendover.)

This battle is known as the Fair of Lincoln, perhaps because of the easy victory or the great amount of plunder. Matthew Paris says: 'The battle began at 2 p.m. and ended at 9 p.m., so expeditious were the merchants in transacting business at this fair.'

As a reward for her gallant defence of the Castle, Nicholaa was appointed 'Sheriffess' of Lincolnshire; she died in 1231 at her manor of Swaneton. The next few years after the Fair of Lincoln seem to have been a time of quiet and recovery; the Castle, which had suffered greatly in the various sieges, was repaired, large sums being paid between 1217 and 1224 to Nicholaa de la Haya and William, Earl of Salisbury, for this purpose.

Lincoln, at least from the Norman Conquest, if not earlier, had been a stronghold of religion. It contained no fewer than fifty-two parish churches, besides various religious houses, the Gilbertines having been established there in 1148, and the Benedictines before 1154.

The Gilbertines, a double Order of men and women, were founded about 1135 by S. Gilbert of Sempringham.* This was the only monastic Order of English origin, and it never spread beyond England. The canons and nuns lived side by side, but were strictly separated; even in their churches, where they recited the Breviary offices together, a high stone wall separated the two choirs of canons and nuns. All the property of the order belonged to the

*S. Gilbert's father was a landowner at Sempringham, a remote village in Lincolnshire, and the first members of the Order were young men and women from the countryside.

nuns, but the management of it was in the hands of the canons.

Later on, no fewer than five orders of friars had houses in Lincoln. These were (*a*) the Franciscans or Grey Friars (*circa* 1236), (*b*) the Dominicans or Black Friars (before 1238), (*c*) the Carmelites or White Friars (1269), (*d*) the Austin Friars (1270), (*e*) the Friars of the Sack. This last order, which possessed a house at Lincoln before 1266, was suppressed by the Council of Lyons, 1274; only four friars were left in the house at Lincoln in 1280, and in 1308 they had ceased to occupy it. The other Orders continued their work in Lincoln until the Suppression of the Monasteries.

Besides these religious communities, there were several recluses or anchoresses at Lincoln; these generally inhabited a small house built close to a parish church. At S. Andrew-in-Wigford there was a 'domus inclusa,' which at the end of the thirteenth century was the home of a celebrated recluse, called Isabel, to whom John Sutton the elder and many other citizens made bequests. Another Anker House was attached to S. Andrew-under-the-Palace, and yet another to Holy Trinity at the Stairs. In the will of Sir Thomas Cumberworth (1451) occurs this bequest: 'The recluse of the grese fote (i.e., foot of the stairs) at Lincoln shall have my roll of prayers, and 6 yerdes of blanket and 6 yerdes of lynne cloth, and trebull of almus that a prioris shall have.' In 1453 Philip Tilney of Boston left six shillings and eightpence to the Lady Matilda, the 'Reclusa ad Gradus,' and there was still 'an Ankeress at the Gresefoot' in 1502.

The mention of the Franciscans brings us to Robert Grosseteste, a name second only in honour to that of S. Hugh.

Nothing is known of Grosseteste's early life except that he was born of a peasant family in Suffolk about 1175. He studied at Oxford and afterwards at Paris, where he learnt Greek and Hebrew. Later on he returned to Oxford, and

graduated in Divinity, afterwards becoming Rector Scholarum; this seems to have been the mediæval equivalent of Vice-Chancellor. Grosseteste was held in the highest esteem at Oxford, both as scholar and teacher. Nicholas Trivett says: 'He was a man of excellent wisdom, and of most lucid power of teaching, as well as a pattern of all virtue.' When the Franciscans first settled in Oxford, Grosseteste became their teacher in theology, and when he himself was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, he wished to have the friars to help him in his work. Thus we find both the Franciscans and the Dominicans established in Lincoln within the next two years. The whole of Grosseteste's episcopate was one continuous struggle against abuses in Church and State. Soon after his consecration he proposed to make a personal visitation of his diocese. He says: 'I caused the clergy of each deanery to be called together on a certain day and place, and the people to be warned that, in the same day and place, they should be present with the children to be confirmed, and in order to hear the word of God, and to confess. In my first circuit some came saying "My lord, you are doing a new and unaccustomed thing." To whom I answered "Every new thing which instructs and advances a man is a blessed new thing."' After this visitation he addressed a letter to his archdeacons, commenting upon the abuses which he had discovered.

One of the worst of these was the farming out of benefices. The rector, frequently an Italian, nominated by the Pope, agreed with a monastic house that they should receive the revenues of the benefice, pay him a fixed sum annually, and be responsible for the spiritual care of the parish. The result was that frequently the monks got the work done as cheaply as possible, and the interests of the parishioners were neglected. In other cases some monastic body owned the advowson of the living, received the tithes, and appointed a curate to minister to the parishioners. He was

removable at the pleasure of the abbot, and was obliged to content himself with whatever remuneration the monks might allow. Hugh de Wells, Grosseteste's immediate predecessor, had begun to deal with this latter abuse, and had established more than three hundred vicarages in his diocese, more than half of them being in Lincolnshire. The vicars were instituted by and responsible to the bishop, and were provided with a fixed income out of the revenues of the parish. Grosseteste continued this good work, and at length, despite bitter opposition from the Templars and Hospitallers, he obtained a Papal letter authorizing the appointment of vicars in all benefices which were the property of monastic bodies.

In 1239 Grosseteste claimed the right to visit the Dean and Canons of Lincoln and their affiliated churches, while they asserted that they were exempt from the Bishop's jurisdiction. This dispute dragged on for some years, and finally both sides appealed to the Pope.

Meanwhile Grosseteste became involved in a conflict with the Crown. Henry III endeavoured to force his own nominee on the diocese of Winchester. Grosseteste, with the Bishops of Hereford and Worcester, opposed this, and appealed to Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, who persuaded the king to give up the temporalities of the See, and to accept William de Ralegh, the nominee of the monks. Grosseteste also, on another occasion, headed the bishops in their refusal of a subsidy. In 1245 Grosseteste went to Lyons to consult Pope Innocent IV, and the long dispute with the Canons of Lincoln was settled in favour of the Bishop.

Hitherto Grosseteste had been an uncompromising supporter of the Papal power, believing that, whereas the secular courts were frequently cruel and oppressive, the rule of the Church must necessarily make for righteousness. Thus in 1237 he had welcomed the legate, Cardinal Otho, with the utmost deference, and had collected the taxes demanded by the Pope. He had even refused to join the

Archbishop, Edmund Rich, in opposing Provisors, i.e., the appointment by the Pope of his own nominees to vacant benefices. But from his second journey to the Papal court, as we shall see, he returned completely disillusioned.

In 1250 Grosseteste ordered all monastic holders of benefices to appear before him with their charters. The Templars, Hospitallers, and others appealed to the Papal court, and Grosseteste set out at once for Lyons, only to find that his opponents had bribed the Pope to give a decision in their favour. Grosseteste could get no redress, but left the Pope's presence after uttering an exclamation against the influence of money at the Papal court. He remained for a time at Lyons, and on May 13th delivered his famous sermon against the abuses of the Papal court and the evil lives of the clergy. Grosseteste returned to England in September 1250, and in 1252 he obtained, as has been stated above, a Papal letter authorizing the appointment of vicars, and their payment out of the revenues of the livings.

In the same year Grosseteste in Parliament withstood the King's demand for a tenth of all Church revenues for a Crusade. It was argued that the English could not resist, because the French had given way. Grosseteste pointed out that this was an additional reason for refusing, 'because twice makes a custom.' This sturdy common-sense of his is well illustrated by the following anecdote. A friar had preached a sermon before him, exalting mendicancy very highly. Grosseteste told him afterwards that there was a still higher thing, namely, to support oneself by one's own labours.

In 1253 the Pope demanded a canonry at Lincoln for his nephew, but Grosseteste refused, showing that the candidate was unfit; he softened his letter, however, by an explanation that 'his contradiction was not a rebellion but an act of filial reverence.' (Pearson.) On receipt of the letter Innocent IV broke out into angry denunciation of Grosseteste, but Cardinal Giles, a Spaniard, boldly defended the

Bishop, asserting, 'The things which he says are true. He is Catholic and most holy; more religious, more saintly, of more excellent life than we.'

Grosseteste died in October 1253, and was buried in the Minster with great pomp, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Worcester assisting at his funeral. Efforts were made on several occasions to procure his canonization, but without result; he was, however, popularly venerated as S. Robert, and pilgrims flocked to his tomb, which had its regular custodians, its devotees and its offerings. Bishop D'Alderby in 1314 granted an indulgence of forty days to worshippers at Grosseteste's tomb.

Although he was always a fighter there was yet a gentler side of Grosseteste's nature; it is interesting to learn that he loved music. Robert de Brune says:

'Next hys chamber, besyde hys study
Hys harper's chamber was fast the by.
Many times, by nightes and dayes,
He had solace of notes and layes.'

Grosseteste's character is admirably summed up by Luard as follows: 'As an uncompromising opposer of all abuses in Church and State, as one whose whole existence was regulated by the feeling of the awful responsibility of his episcopal office, he stands quite unrivalled in our history. This is the key to his whole career, it was for this that he opposed monasteries, chapters, bishops, nobles, King and Pope. . . . Yet whatever hot words were spoken at the time, he never seems to have given lasting offence. We find him at complete peace with his chapter after the quarrel was settled; the King writing most kindly to him after they had had many serious quarrels; the cardinal legate, to whose clerk he had refused preferment, still on terms of intimate affection with him.'

Another saintly bishop was John D'Alderby. He was Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral, was elected bishop in January 1300, and consecrated at Canterbury in July 1300,

John de Schalby praises him very highly, saying that, like another Nicholas, he treated the clergy kindly, and was liberal and munificent, and like another Joseph, was a successful man of affairs. D'Alderby died in 1330, and was at once revered as a saint. Ten English bishops addressed a petition to the Pope, praying for his canonization, but the request was refused.

In spite of this, pilgrims paid their devotions at his tomb, as they did at that of Grosseteste, and the Breviary office commemorating S. John de D'Alderby is still in existence.

In these early times Parliament was not always held at Westminster, but occasionally at some other place where the King might be staying. Parliaments were held in Lincoln by Edward I in 1301 and 1305, by Edward II in 1316, and by Edward III in 1327. The Parliament of 1301 is memorable for the refusal of the King and nobles to recognize the claim put forward by the Pope to dispose of the Crown of Scotland. They asserted that the King of England had always been the liege-lord over Scotland, and that Parliament would never permit this right to be called in question. In this Parliament also Edward I issued his final Confirmation of the Charters.

In 1291 and again in a charter of Edward II in 1326, Lincoln was constituted a staple-town for wool, that is, a town in which the wool trade might be carried on, and by the Ordinance of the Staple in 1353, Lincoln was made one of the staple-towns for wool, leather, lead, etc. The manufacture of woollen cloth had been carried on in Lincoln even in the time of Henry II, and during the thirteenth century the city became famous for its manufacture of scarlet cloth. From the *Close Rolls* we learn that in 1249 Henry III ordered scarlet cloth and morretto ingrain from Lincoln, and in 1254 scarlet cloth of good colour; while in 1301 Edward I ordered scarlet and russet and green cloth. This manufacture received a powerful stimulus from the establishment of the Staple at Lincoln, and for a time the

City was very prosperous. When, however, the Staple was removed to Boston in 1369, trade began to decline.

The *Close Rolls*, of which mention has been made, yield many vivid pictures of the daily life of the City. For instance in 1224, we find the following entry: The King learns by inquisition taken by the mayor, bailiffs and coroners of Lincoln, that Cicely, daughter of William the reeve of Risum, was killed by a blow from the wheel of a cart of William Wilchar of Lichefeld that Walter Oxe, his carter, was taking laden with fish from the baily of Lincoln to the gate of the City, whilst she was running impetuously across his course, against Walter's will, and that Walter is in no wise guilty of her death; the King orders them to release Walter from prison, and to cause to be restored to William his cart, horses and other goods.

And in 1327 the Sheriff of Lincoln is ordered not to permit the Archbishop of York and his household to be attacked in Lincoln, as the King hears that the Archbishop of Canterbury and his ministers intend disturbing the Archbishop of York concerning the carrying of his cross in the Province of Canterbury.

This time of prosperity in Lincoln is marked by the growth of the Gilds; these were of two kinds (*a*) Craft Gilds, i.e., associations of men of the same craft, (*b*) Religious Gilds; the Craft Gilds were the earlier. The Merchant Gild of Lincoln is mentioned in a charter of Henry II (1157). This embraced nearly all traders who were burgesses, and some others; it had a monopoly of wholesale and retail trade, and regulated the trade customs of the City. The Telarii (weavers) of Lincoln paid £6 for their 'Gilda' in 1173 (*Pipe Roll*). Another early Gild is that of the Fullers and Dyers. 'In John's reign they complain that the aldermen and reeves of the City had seized a quantity of cloth, and the gildsmen claim the right of fulling and dyeing as they please, as became free citizens of Lincoln. The city fathers make reply that the craftsmen have no law or

fellowship with free citizens (*Non habent legem nec communionem cum liberis civibus*). The several handicrafts were generally organized at a date soon after this as regular sub-estates of the municipal constitution, and full membership of the Gild implied full participation in civic rights.' (J. Malet Lambert, *Bygone Lincolnshire*.)

Other Craft Gilds were those of the Masons (before 1313), Tailors (1328), Sailors (1335), Barbers (1369), Archers (1379), Cordwainers (1389), Minstrels and Players (1389), Tylers, Mercers (dates unknown).

A *Gilda Piscatorum* was existing in 1474, and the Clerk Gild, or Fraternity of S. Nicholas, was confirmed by Patent in the third year of Henry IV. The painters, stainers, gilders, and alabaster men belonged to the Gild of S. Luke, which was founded in 1525. There was also a Plough Gild existing in 1505; a trace of this long survived in the processions of farmers' servants on Plough Monday, i.e., the Monday after the feast of the Epiphany. Mr. W. J. Williams in an article on the Masons' Gild, remarks that, so far as the provinces are concerned, such a series of Craft Gilds as those at Lincoln was unique at that time.

Each Craft Gild had its own regulations as to methods and hours of work, apprentices, etc. For instance, the Tylers' Gild enacts: 'No tyler or poyntour shall stay in the City, unless he enters the Gild.' The Fullers lay down the rule that 'None of the craft shall work (i.e., full) cloth by treading it with the feet in the trough, and no one shall work at the wooden bar with a woman, unless with the wife of a master or her handmaid.' This regulation is intended to prevent women-workers being employed. The Fullers also enact that none must work after dinner on Saturdays, or on any days which ought to be kept as festivals by the law of the Church. If anyone wished to learn the craft, he must pay a penny 'to the wax' before a brother could teach him.

Richard II in 1388 ordered a return to be made of the rules and customs of the Gilds from all parts of the realm,

and this account gives details of many from Lincolnshire. At the end of the account of the Tailors' Gild, January 1389, is a short entry in Norman French: 'Escript a Nicol en tresgraunt hast.' The form Nicol for Lincoln occurs in many mediaeval documents.

Besides the Craft Gilds, there were many Religious Gilds in Lincoln; among these were the Gild of S. Mary, often called the Great Gild, the Gild of S. Anne, the Gild of S. Benedict, the Gild of S. Michael on the Hill (founded 1350), the Gild of the Resurrection of Our Lord (founded 1374).

The chief official of a Gild was the Graceman, who was assisted by two Wardens and a Dean. On the Feast Day of the Gild the members dined together, and at certain dates, often four times a year, a mornspeche, or assembly of the Gild was held; attendance at these assemblies was compulsory, and absentees were fined. These fines were sometimes paid in money, but more frequently in wax, as great quantities of wax were needed for candles on the Feast Days and at funerals.

The following details are taken from the regulations of the Gild of S. Benedict; those of the other Gilds were very similar. The more important differences on minor points will be given later.

'One great wax light shall be found and lighted on the Feast of the Purification, and every year at the said Feast there shall be fed as many poor as there are bretheren and sisteren in the Gild, with bread and ale (but the Masons provided mead instead of ale), and one dish of flesh or fish at the cost of the Gild. Every year at the Feast of the Gild, they shall have, on each day of the Feast, three flagons with prayers, and six tankards, and the tankards, filled with ale, shall be given to the poor who most deserve it.' Mornspeches were held on the Sundays after S. Michael's Day, the Epiphany, and the Purification. 'Whosoever fails to come to the mornspeche, having been summoned by the

Dean, shall pay half-a-pound of wax.' On the day following the last-mentioned mornspeche, a mass was said for the souls of the dead bretheren and sisteren.

If any brother or sister desired to go on pilgrimage to Rome, to the shrine of S. James at Compostella, or to the Holy Land, he forewarned the Gild, and all the bretheren and sisteren accompanied him to the city gate, and each gave him a halfpenny at least, or one penny if he were going to the Holy Land. The pilgrim was bidden to send word on his return to his fellows, who would go out and meet him, and accompany him to the mother-church.

The regulations for funerals are given in great detail. 'When a brother or sister dies, the Graceman and Wardens shall go to the body, and the Dean shall bring four wax lights (these were called Soul Candles), which shall burn until the service is done. On the morrow, when the body is buried, the Graceman shall offer a penny and each Warden a halfpenny of the goods of the Gild. Besides this every brother and sister shall give a halfpenny to buy bread to be given to the poor for the soul of the dead, while the priest celebrates mass. Whoever fails in this offering shall next day pay one penny, or a pound of wax at the next mornspeche.'

The ordinances of the Gild of the Resurrection provide that when a brother or sister dies, a hearse (framework to carry candles, etc.) shall be put about the body, with thirteen wax-lights burning in four stands, at Placebo and Dirige and Mass, and there shall be four angels, and four banners of the Passion, with a white border, and scutcheons of the same powdered with gold. And offerings shall be made, and as many masses said for the soul of the dead as there are bretheren and sisteren in the Gild.

In the statutes of the Gild of S. Michael on the Hill it is expressly provided that the Dean must bring not only four Soul Candles but 'the banner of the Gild shall be brought to the house and there openly shown, that men may

know that the dead was a brother or sister of the Gild, and this banner shall be carried, with a great torch burning, before the body to the church.'

The Gild of the Resurrection has detailed regulations for the Easter ceremonies. 'Twenty round lights shall be kept burning round the body of Our Lord, lying in the sepulchre, from Easter Eve until the time of resurrection on Easter Day.'

While the brothers and sisters were sitting at table on the Feast Day, the ordinances of the Gild were read over so that they might be clearly understood, and that no man should plead ignorance as an excuse for any breach of the Gild regulations. 'After dinner four candles shall be lighted and grace shall be said, together with the antiphone *Regina celi letare* and the Lord's Prayer; and the names of all the dead bretheren and sisteren shall be read over, and the *De Profundis* shall be said for their souls.'

One of the ordinances of the Gild of S. Michael on the Hill shows a sturdy determination to resist undue influence on the part of wealthier or better-born members. 'Whoever seeks to be received into this Gild, being of the same rank as the bretheren and sisteren who founded it, namely of the rank of common and middling folks, shall be charged to be faithful to the Gild, and shall bear his share of its burdens. And whereas the Gild was founded by folks of common and middling rank, no one of the rank of mayor or bailiff shall become a brother of the Gild, unless he is found to be of humble, good and honest conversation, and is admitted by the choice and common assent of the bretheren and sisteren. And no one shall have any claim to office in this Gild on account of the honour and dignity of his personal rank.'

'The statutes of the Tailors' Gild provide that 'If any quarrel or strife arises between any of the bretheren and sisteren of the Gild (which God forbid), the bretheren and sisteren shall, with the advice of the Graceman and Wardens,

do their best to make peace between the parties, provided that the case is such that can be thus settled without a breach of the law, and whosoever will not obey the judgment of the brethren shall lose his gildship, unless he think better of it within three days, and then he shall pay a stone of wax, unless he have grace.' The Masons' Gild enact that should any brother or sister be in custody for any fault saving theft or murder, he shall send word to the brethren, and they shall come to his aid and assist him as brethren should do. (All the details as to the Masons' Gild are from an article by W. J. Williams, in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*.)

Most Gilds provide that brothers and sisters who have fallen into poverty, otherwise than through their own fault, are to receive help from the goods of the Gild, and members dying in poverty are to be buried at the cost of the Gild. The Gild of S. Benedict provides that, if help is given to a brother in want, and he cannot repay it, he shall keep it as a free gift, but the Fullers require that any such debt must be repaid, after the brother's death, out of the money collected for his soul's sake.

The amount payable as an entrance fee varied from Gild to Gild. In the Gild of S. Benedict the fee was six shillings and eightpence, half on admission, and half at the next year's Feast. In the Gild of the Resurrection there was paid 'fourpence to the ale and one penny to the wax' on admission, and thirteen pence every year by four separate payments. In the Tylers' Gild the entrance fee was one quarter of barley, twopence to the ale, and one penny to the Dean; in the Tailors' Gild, it was a quarter of barley, which must be paid between Michaelmas and Christmas, and twelve pence; in the Masons' Gild four shillings or one quarter of the best barley at the three terms of the year, and four pence; in the Fullers' Gild the fee was one penny.

The Gilds, many of which took their rise in the latter half of the fourteenth century, flourished for about two hundred years. No record exists of the dissolution of the Gilds,

but their jewels, plate and money were appropriated by the Corporation about the middle of the sixteenth century. Thus the plate and money of the Great Gild were handed over to the Corporation in 1545, that of S. Anne's Gild in 1547, and that of the Clerks' Gild in 1549.

Mr. John Ross is said to have been of the opinion that, on the suppression of the Craft Gilds, the union and fellowship of their members were transferred to the secular trade companies. This seems probable from the fact that a number of charters of such companies were 'inrolled' in the first few years of Elizabeth's reign. The Weavers' and the Cordwainers' Gilds were incorporated by Royal charter, and were still existing in 1739; all others had a licence under the City Seal. Thus in July 1563 it is enacted that 'all occupations within the city shall have their charters under the Common Seal, containing such orders and statutes as by the oversight of the Mayor and his brethren shall be thought expedient;' and on September 18th, 1563 (as an example of such oversight) 'The dyers or lytsters, being now of a wealthy and commodious occupation, so that they need not use or trade any other occupation or craft, . . . no dyer or lytster shall, after the feast of S. Martin next, occupy or trade anything belonging to the occupation of sherman or fuller.'

The following list of charters is taken from the manuscript, 'Adversaria' by Thomas Symphon, in the Bodleian Library.

February 26th, 1561. (a) Tailors (b) Shoemakers.

December 16th, 1562. Painters, Gilders, Stainers and Alabaster men.

July 17th, 1563. (a) Fellowship of Smiths, Ironmongers, Armourers, Cutlers, Horse-marshalls and Wire Drawers.

(b) Fellowship of Glovers, Girdlers, Skinners, Pynners, Poynters, Scriveners and Parchment-makers.

In 1564 a new charter was granted under the Common

Seal of the City to the Tylers, Masons, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Paviers, Tile-Makers, Glaziers, Lime-makers, Millers and Threshers—'which of antient time had been of one company.'

In 1566 a Charter was granted to the Company of Carpenters under the Common Seal of the City.

In these charters we see the gradual disappearance of the Gild observances. The Charter of the Painters, etc., contains the pre-Reformation statutes as to processions to church, Gild Feasts, etc., but these are not mentioned in the Smiths' Charter. The Glovers' Charter provides that an allowance shall be given to brethren in poverty, and funeral expenses are to be paid, if necessary. In the Charters of 1564, Gracemen and mornspeche days are still appointed, and in one case attendance at the Minster is mentioned. The ordinances of the Company of Tailors were confirmed in 1679, and in these there is no mention of religious observances. It would seem on the whole that while the Gilds lost their religious character, they continued, in some degree at least, to perform the functions of benefit societies.

The story of the Gilds has taken us far down the history of Lincoln, and we must return to the fourteenth century.

The earldom of Lincoln, created by Stephen in 1140, passed with that of Salisbury in 1349 to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, who two years later was created Duke of Lancaster. Blanche, Henry's daughter and sole heiress, married John of Gaunt, who assumed in consequence the title of Duke of Lancaster. Thus the earldom of Lincoln became part of the great Lancaster inheritance, and, on the accession of Henry IV, passed to the Crown. The title was revived later on, and finally conferred by Elizabeth on the Lord High Admiral, Edward, Lord Clinton, ancestor of the Duke of Newcastle, in whose family it still remains.

John of Gaunt lived for some time at Bolingbroke Castle, where his son, afterwards Henry IV, was born, but

later on he removed to Lincoln, and built himself a palace there. Apparently he lived some long time in Lincoln, and his third wife, Katharine Swynford, is buried in the Minster.

In the fifteenth century Lincoln seems to have fallen upon evil days, and in 1409 the mayor and citizens petitioned the King, Henry IV, for assistance, saying that Lincoln had become so much impoverished that, unless he would grant them some relief, they would be unable to pay the annual fee-farm rent of £180, and the town would be utterly ruined. The King granted certain dues, fines and amercements to the mayor and sheriffs, and gave leave for the citizens to have a fair for thirty days in November. In 1447 the mayor and citizens entreated the Crown to render them further assistance, as the City was impoverished by the departure of many resident merchants (this was one result of the removal of the Staple), while it had been so sorely depopulated by the great pestilence and other sufferings that scarcely two hundred citizens remained. The King allowed the city to purchase and hold property to the amount of £120 a year, and he also excused the citizens from paying tenths and fifteenths for forty years. But the decay of the city was not arrested, and a similar petition for help was made in 1463 to Edward IV, who granted to the City four neighbouring villages, and a large number of quit-rents hitherto paid to the Crown. Richard III, in reply to another request for assistance, granted further privileges by Letters Patent in 1484, but he himself was killed at Bosworth Field in the following year, and it seems doubtful if these privileges were ever enjoyed by the citizens of Lincoln, for the charter of Henry VIII, dated 1515, which confirms the grants of Edward IV, does not mention those of Richard III.

Lincoln, which suffered so severely in the wars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and again during the Civil War of the seventeenth century, does not appear to

have received serious damage during the Wars of the Roses. Even in the great raid of Margaret of Anjou's army in 1460, when such terrible harm was done to Grantham and Stamford, which had supported the Yorkists, Lincoln, owing to its Lancastrian sympathies, escaped. For the most part, indeed, the towns took little or no part in the struggle, and the tranquillity of the country at large is shown by the fact that the course of justice remained wholly undisturbed. Philippe de Commines, writing of this period, says: 'England has this peculiar grace that neither the country, nor the people, nor the houses are wasted, destroyed, or demolished; but the calamities and misfortunes of the war fall only upon the soldiers, and especially the nobility.' Fortescue, also, writing at the height of the Wars of the Roses, and driven into exile, contrasts, from personal observation, the misery of the French common people, continually robbed and insulted by the King's soldiers and servants, with the peace and security of the common folk in this 'Realm of England, where no man sojourneth in an other man's house without the love and the leave of the good man of the same house.'

The citizens of Lincoln, from long association with the House of Lancaster, were, as we have seen, strongly Lancastrian in feeling, and many men of Lincoln took part in the rising of 1470. This originated in a quarrel over purveyance between Lord Welles and Sir Thomas Burgh of Gainsborough. The King (Edward IV) summoned Lord Welles and Sir Thomas Dymoke, the Champion, to appear before the Council. They obeyed, but afterwards fled and took sanctuary. Later on, however, being promised pardon, they returned to the court. Sir Robert Welles, son of Lord Welles, instigated, as he afterwards confessed, by messages from Warwick and Clarence, and also thinking his father to be in danger, took up arms. He gives the following account of the beginning of the insurrection: 'The cause of our grete rising at this time was

grounded upon this noise raisid amonges the people that the King was coming downe, with grete power, into Lincolnshire, where the kinges jugges should sitte, and hang and draw grete noubre of the commons. Wherefore, with as many as we might make be all means possible, we came to Lincoln upon the 'Tuseday.' He gives a further reason for his action. 'Also when my lord my fadir went to London, he charged me that if I understode him att eny time to be in jupartye, I should, with all that I might make, come to socoure him.' (*Harl. MSS.*)

On account of the unrest in Lincolnshire, Edward IV set out from London early in March 1470, and on reaching Waltham Abbey on March 7th he heard that Sir Robert Welles had taken up arms. He sent for Welles and Dymoke from London; they met him at Huntingdon on March 9th, and he questioned them about the rising, and ordered Lord Welles to write to his son, bidding him to lay down arms immediately. Sir Robert Welles, fearing for his father's safety, 'arredied him and his felaship to have sett upon the king in Staunford the Monday nyghte, and so to have destrest hym and his oost, and so rescued his fadre lyf; and for that entent turned with his hoole oost out of Leicestre way, to take his waye towards Stanford upon that same purpose.' (*Camden Miscell.*)

Edward, hearing of his movements, ordered Welles and Dymoke to be beheaded, and sent again to Sir Robert, requiring his immediate submission. He answered that he would never trust the man who had murdered his father. Edward attacked the insurgents at Empyngnam in Rutlandshire, and 'the raw levies of Lincolnshire broke in panic under the fire of Edward's guns, and ran so fast that the action won the name of Losecoat Field.' (*Vict. Cty Hist.*) Many of the fugitives were slaughtered, and Sir Robert Welles was taken a few days later, tried and executed.

We are not surprised to find that the Tudors favoured Lincoln. Henry VII paid a state visit to Lincoln in 1486,

it is described as follows by a contemporary writer. 'The King rode to Lincoln and ther hys grace kept right devoutely the Holy Feste of Lister. And full like a cristene prince, had hys dyvyne servyse in the cathedraill church, and in no privie chapell. And on Sheretharsday (Maundy Thursday) he had in the Bishop's Hall xxx poore men, to whom he humbly and cristenly, for Crist love, with his noble hands, did wessh ther fete, and yave as great almes, like as other his noble progenitours, kynges of England, have been accustomed aforetyme. And also on Good Friday, after all his offrins and observances of halowing of his rings after dyner, he yave in almes great summes of money, in groats, to poor people, besides great almes to poor freres, parsons, and lazares-houses of that countrie. And, on Sheretharsday, Good Friday, Ester Eve and Ester Day, the Bishopp of that See did the Divine Service, and everyche of the iiii. days folowing, the principallest residencias there, being present, did ther divine observances. And the kyng himself kept every day thuss, during both the High Masse and Evensonge in the said cathedraill chirche. And that same weke he removed to Nottingham.' (*Cot. MSS.*)

There is no account extant of the King's reception by the mayor and aldermen, but the following entry is found in the city records: 'Anno Regis Henrici VII primo. It is agreid that a present schal be yeven to oure Sovereign Lord at his cummyng, of flysshe, yat is to say xij grette pykes, xij grette tenchis, xij salmons, and xij grette bles.' This present of fish was suitable for Lent, when the King's first visit took place, but on his second visit, in July 1487, immediately after the defeat of Lambert Simnel's insurrection at Stoke Field, the city provided for him 'iij dosen greyn geyse, i dosen fat capons and half dosen fat pykes.' On this occasion the King spent three days in public supplications, processions and thanksgivings, and he sent his standard to the church of Our Lady at Walsingham,

'there to remain as a monument of his victory and his gratitude.' (Speed.)

The citizens do not seem to have availed themselves of the privileges granted by Richard III, but in 1499 Henry VII 'after he had possessed the throne quietly and unquietly for fourteen years, granted to William Ircknette, the then mayor, the sheriffs, and the commonalty of Lincoln, who had probably petitioned him to do so, a confirmation Charter, and ratified all their former privileges, but granted no new ones.' (*Civitas Lincolnia*.)

On May 28th, 1509, Henry VIII issued Letters Patent, declaring a 'General Pardon' for all kinds of crimes committed before April 23rd of that year. Many similar pardons were issued about this time. The frequent changes of government and the general unrest of the latter half of the fifteenth century had made many corporations and private persons feel that their position with regard to the House of Tudor was insecure; they feared lest, on some trivial pretext, they should be accused of treason and heavily fined. The General Pardon, which was probably purchased at a good price, gave the people of Lincoln immunity from such attack. Some six years later the citizens paid £11 8s. 8d. to the Crown for another Charter, which is still extant. It recites at length and confirms all previous Charters from the time of Henry II.

As has been noticed earlier, Lincoln, at least from the Norman Conquest, had been one of the chief religious centres in England. Thus the suppression of the monasteries excited bitter opposition in Lincolnshire, and there was a widespread expectation that the spoliation of the religious houses merely formed a prelude to the pillage of the parish churches. This fear, which was abundantly justified in the next reign, was apparently the immediate cause of the rising in Lincolnshire in the autumn of 1536. On October 1st the people of Louth, headed by Nicholas Melton, a shoemaker, known as 'Captain Cobler,' took

possession of the parish church, to prevent, as they said, the jewels being given up to the King. Similar risings took place in various towns; Mackarel, the deposed abbot of Barlings, with his canons, joined the movement, and in a few days some sixty thousand men were gathered in and around Lincoln, which had become the focus of the rising. The insurgents had a banner, on which were embroidered a plough, a horn, a chalice, the Host, and the Five Wounds of Christ. The leaders of the insurrection now drew up their demands in writing, and sent them to the King at Windsor. They asked that:

- (1) The Religious Houses should be restored.
- (2) The Subsidy (then being collected) should be remitted.
- (3) The clergy should pay no more first-fruits or tenths.
- (4) The Statute of Uses (which pressed hardly on the land-owners) should be repealed.
- (5) Villain blood should be removed from the Council.
- (6) The heretic bishops, Cranmer, Latimer, Hiley, Longland (of Lincoln) and Brown, should be deprived and punished.

Meanwhile the insurgents had tried to make Lord Hussey, the lord-lieutenant of the county, take command of the movement, and had warned him that he would be in danger if he refused to join them; he temporized, but undertook to forward the rebels' letters to Cromwell, warning the writers at the same time that the King could make no terms with traitors. Henry sent messages to Lord Hussey, directing him to raise men to repress the rebellion, but he took no steps to carry out the royal order. His sympathies seem to have been with the rebels, and he was reported to have said, 'The world will never mend, unless we fight for it.' But even if he had wished to proceed against the rebels, he could, as he informed Cromwell, depend on no one if it came to fighting. Henry, with his

shrewd ability, instantly saw that the worst feature of all was the easy way in which the local gentry had allowed themselves to be forced into the movement, and he took prompt measures to restore order, sending troops under Suffolk against the rebels, and returning an uncompromising answer to their demands. The rebels were awaiting the King's reply at Lincoln, where, despite the efforts of the leaders, a certain amount of disturbance had taken place, and the Bishop's palace was plundered and partially destroyed. The King's letter was brought to Lincoln on October 8th; it opens with a denunciation of the presumption of the rebels. 'I have never heard, read, or known that Princes' Councillors and Prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience, to find fault with your Prince for the electing of his Councillors and Prelates.' The King absolutely refused to grant any of the demands of the rebels, and required that their leaders should be surrendered for punishment, and a proclamation shortly after ordered that all arms should be surrendered in Lincoln market-place. After the receipt of the King's letter, violent dissensions arose between the gentry who had taken part in the rising and the 'Commons' folk. At length a herald-at-arms, named Lancaster, came to Lincoln, addressed the 'Commons,' and persuaded them to go home, leaving the gentry to sue by letter for their pardon. Thus when Suffolk and his army entered Lincoln on October 11th, only about twenty thousand were left, and the nobles, squires, and their tenants and labourers joined Suffolk and helped to restore order. It is said that about twenty persons, among them the abbots of Kirkstead and Barlings, were put to death for their share in this rising, but the rank and file received a free pardon. Lord Hussey, who had not attempted to put down the rising, but had fled from the

county, was found guilty by his peers of dereliction of duty and tampering with the rebels, and was beheaded at Lincoln. He was offered a free pardon of 'lyffe, landes and goodes' if he would give particulars of those concerned in the rebellion, but this he could not do, being ignorant, he said, as to the whole affair.

In 1541 Henry, accompanied by his Queen, Katharine Howard, visited Lincoln and was entertained by the citizens with great ceremony and liberal hospitality, and in 1546, the citizens having petitioned for relief of their burdens, and especially the fee-farm rent, he granted to the city the advowsons and rectories of four villages. The Corporation were to appoint vicars to these parishes, providing them each with a house and yearly stipend, but the balance of the income was to go to the City. Surfleet, one of the four villages, was afterwards conveyed to the Earl of Rutland, that he might forego for ever his claim to the one hundred pounds fee-farm rent.

Neither Edward VI, nor Mary, nor Elizabeth ever visited Lincoln, and the records for these three reigns are very scanty. In 1549 the mayor and citizens besought permission to pull down the ruined churches, and unite the deserted parishes to those which were more populous. It seems that in Norman times there were at least forty-nine parish churches in Lincoln (some authorities say fifty-two), but many of these had been damaged in the storming of the city in 1216. Edward VI, by Letters Patent dated May 3rd, 1549, granted the petition of the citizens, and the number of parish churches was reduced to thirteen, the material of the ruined churches being employed to repair those that were still in use.

The next event of general interest in the history of Lincoln was the visit of James I, 1617. Before his arrival the Mayor sent for directions as to where the King should be met, and was warned that His Majesty did not like long speeches. The Corporation and citizens were to meet the

King 'at the skirts of the county,' but this arrangement fell through because the King 'hunted along the heath, and came not by the highway.' So the sheriffs and citizens, who must have afforded a picturesque sight, on horse-back, dressed in gowns of purple, black, or 'violets' colour,' with 'new jafflings in their hands, fringed with red and white,' moved to a place near the Cross of the Cliff, 'where His Majesty could not miss them,' and accompanied him to his lodging at S. Catherine's. Next day, March 28th, the King entered Lincoln in state, was received by the Mayor and Corporation, and escorted by them to the Cathedral. He again attended service in the Cathedral on Sunday, March 30th, and afterwards 'touched' some fifty persons for 'the King's evil.' During the following week the King was entertained with cock-fights, fencing, horse-races and foot-races, and on his departure he thanked the citizens, saying that 'If God lent him life, he would see them oftener.' After this visit the King presented the Fosdyke to the city. (*Civitas Lincolnia.*)

Of the hundred years which followed the Rising of 1536, but few details of the history of Lincoln, beyond the above-mentioned visit of James, have been preserved. During this time a great change came over the minds of the citizens. They still retained the old sturdy independence which impelled them to resist even the King himself if matters of religious belief and practice were at stake, but whereas in 1536 they besought Henry VIII to deprive and punish 'the heretic bishops,' in 1642 Charles I received at Newark a petition in which 'his loving subjects in the County of Lincoln' expressed the desire that 'Romish idolatry and superstition' might be extirpated. It is impossible here to inquire into the reasons of this change; suffice it to say that the Puritanism of Lincoln was of a less intolerant character than that of Boston. This moderation is ascribed to the teaching of Edward Reyner, Rector of S. Peter at Arches, Sunday Lecturer at the Cathedral, and a prominent figure in

the history of Lincoln during the Civil War. 'Reyner was a man of decided Puritan views, strongly opposed to the Laudian ceremonies to which he refused to conform, but at the same time of great humility and meekness, possessing a quiet and patient spirit which endeared him to the citizens, by whom his advice and prayers were eagerly sought.' (Col. J. G. Williams.)

According to local tradition, Charles I paid three visits to Lincoln, all of them before the outbreak of the Civil War. In the *Lincoln Date Book* occurs the entry: 'Charles I came to Lincoln on St. Simon and St. Jude's day (1640). . . . Richard Wetherall and Original Peart, the Sheriffs, attended by a great number of the citizens, met His Majesty at Burton.' There is no mention of this visit in the Corporation records, but Charles was in Yorkshire during August 1640, and returned to London for the opening of the Long Parliament in November; thus he may very well have passed through Lincoln on his way south. Two years later, and just on the eve of the Civil War, Charles again visited Lincoln.

The Commons in March 1642 requested the King to place the command of the militia and the charge of fortified places in their hands, and, on his final refusal, passed the Militia Ordinance. During the controversy between the King and the Parliament, many petitions were sent up to Parliament, but Lincolnshire, on March 14th, sent a petition to the King at Newark, begging him to 'reside near and listen unto the faithful counsels of his Parliament, whereby Church and Commonwealth might be reformed, and all things settled in a blessed peace under His Majesty's Government.' Charles replied, on March 26th, that this petition was grounded on misinformation, that he had not left, but had been driven from his Parliament, and he suggested that they should petition Parliament to comply with his desires and offers. In April, after Hotham's refusal to admit the King into Hull, both sides began to prepare for

war, the Parliament endeavouring to raise forces through the lord-lieutenants, the King issuing commissions of array. On May 5th, Parliament put the Militia Ordinance into execution, and, to ensure its being carried out, appointed County committees. The Lincolnshire committee consisted of Lord Willoughby of Parham, lord-lieutenant of the county, and ten other persons, nine of whom were members of the House of Commons. The King, in reply, issued a Proclamation forbidding the muster of the militia, and directing the trained bands to place themselves under officers appointed by him. Both sides were anxious to gain possession of the ammunition magazines of the most important towns, and on May 28th the King wrote to Sir Edward Heron, the High Sheriff, ordering him to take effectual care that the store of ammunition in Lincoln should not pass out of his custody. The Mayor, Ald. John Becke, however, who had charge of the key of the City Magazine, handed it over to Lord Willoughby, and also, at the request of the Parliamentary Committee, refused to publish the King's Proclamation forbidding the muster of the militia. These matters were reported to the King, and the Mayor was summoned to York to answer for his disobedience. The Committee arrested the messenger, and sent him off to London along with the Mayor, whom they advised to place himself under the protection of Parliament. On the way the messenger persuaded the Mayor to obey the King's summons, so the two of them escaped from their guards, and made their way to York. They arrived on June 17th; the Mayor submitted himself to the King, and was pardoned on condition of returning at once to Lincoln, and publishing the Proclamation. The *Lincoln Date Book* has this brief but significant account of the matter: 'Charles I sent for John Becke, the mayor, to York, on a complaint that he favoured the rebels; his worship, however, returned safe.'

Meanwhile Lord Willoughby ordered the trained bands,

to meet him at Lincoln on June 6th. In a letter of that date to a member of the House of Lords, after thanking the two Houses for the honour they have done him, he says: 'My Heart ever was and ever shall be ready to obey their Lordships' commands in all things both with Integrity and Industry, and God's curse light upon him and his who carries any other Heart about him.' He goes on to say that he found the trained bands in good condition, and that, though some members were absent through sickness, their places were supplied by volunteers of most satisfactory quality. He also says that he had that day received a letter from the King, which, together with his own answer, he enclosed for the information of the two Houses.

The King's letter, dated June 4th, commanded Lord Willoughby to desist immediately from raising or exercising the Trained Bands, since the Ordinance of Parliament, under which he was acting, had not received the royal assent, but had been countermanded by Proclamation. Lord Willoughby, in his reply, confessed that he found himself to be in a great difficulty, not knowing how to reconcile obedience to the King's commands with faithfulness to the duty laid upon him by Parliament. He also pointed out that the Militia Ordinance was considered legal both by Littleton, the Lord Kceper, and by Sir John Banks, the Lord Chief Justice. On receipt of these three letters, both Lords and Commons expressed their approval of Willoughby's conduct. Charles sent many messages to Willoughby, forbidding him to muster the Trained Bands, and finally used threats, but Willoughby forwarded the letters to Parliament with renewed assurances of his own fidelity.

Willoughby's success in organizing the militia and enrolling volunteers caused great anxiety to the Royalists, and they besought Charles to visit Lincoln, since a personal declaration of his intention to uphold the Protestant religion and maintain the laws of the land would undoubtedly

strengthen his cause. Charles therefore suddenly determined to visit Lincoln, and summoned the nobility, knights, gentry and freeholders of the county to meet him there on July 13th (1642). Upon the announcement of the royal visit, Lord Willoughby and the Parliamentary Committee prudently retired to London.

Charles reached Lincoln on the appointed day, Wednesday, July 13th, and according to a Royalist writer he was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty, the road being thronged for nearly four miles with thousands of people shouting 'A King, a King,' the gentry drawing their swords, and some two or three hundred clergy saluting him with 'Vivat Rex.' So great was the enthusiasm that 'many think Wednesday was the Funeral of the New Militia.' A Parliamentary writer, however, remarks, 'When all the people came together to the King at Lincoln, there was not one in twenty had so much as a sword about them; you may perceive by that they came not to fight.'

Next day the gentry asked leave to raise a regiment of horse, for use in the county, for three months. Charles accepted this offer, and added 'That for his Person, Crown, Estate or Posterity he neither expected nor desired their, nor any of his subjects' assistance longer than he should protect them, their Religion, Laws, Interests, and just rights of Parliament. In which cases, let the Tongue cleave to the roof of that mouth that spake, and the Hand wither from that Arm that moved against him.' On July 15th Charles left Lincoln, but apparently he passed through it again a few weeks later, for Clarendon says that the King went to Nottingham to set up his standard, 'having taken Lincoln in his way, and drawn some arms of the Trained-Bands of that Country with him to Nottingham.'

Lincoln remained for a time in the hands of the Royalists, who drew up a petition to Parliament. They demanded that (a) Hull should be surrendered to the King, (b) The Militia should be disbanded, and the army placed under the

supreme control of the King, (c) Parliament should remove from London to some other place, where it might meet the King.

As no member of Parliament could be found to present the Petition, it was sent to the Speaker, with a request that he would present it to the House. The Speaker detained the messenger, a servant of the High Sheriff, Sir Edward Heron, and on July 18th informed the House that he had received a Petition of a very strange nature and language from divers gentlemen of Lincolnshire. A Special Committee was appointed to consider the matter, and they reported that the Petition was false, scandalous and seditious. They summoned Sir Edward Heron to answer for his conduct, and, as he did not obey, they sent orders to the deputy-lieutenants of the county to arrest him. The arrest did not take place till the beginning of October, when Sir Edward was taken to London, and appeared at the bar of the House of Commons. He admitted that he had sent the Petition and letter, and that, acting on the King's orders, he had seized magazines and concealed arms; he was therefore committed to the Tower for the crime of High Treason, and was only released in the autumn of 1645 by an exchange of prisoners.

In Lincoln the supporters of the Parliament do not seem to have greatly outnumbered the Royalists, and the city fell into the hands first of one party, then of the other. At the time of Charles I's visit (1642) Lincoln was in the hands of the Royalists, but during the autumn Lord Willoughby and the Committee regained their former superiority, and in January 1643 Parliament gave orders that Lincoln Castle should be fortified, and the City walls put into a condition of defence. In July of the same year there was an attempt made to hand the City over to the King's forces. Sir John Hotham the governor of Hull, and his son, had been negotiating with the Queen and with the Earl of Newcastle. Henrietta Maria, in a letter to the King, says:

'Young Hotham hath sent to me that he would cast himself into my arms, and that Hull and Lincoln shall be rendered.' Suspicion was aroused; Hotham was arrested and imprisoned in Nottingham Castle, but succeeded in escaping to Lincoln. Here he tried to persuade Colonel Rossiter, who was in command, to join the King's party, telling him: 'You shall see in a short time there will never be a gentleman but will be gone to the King.' Finding that his arguments were of no avail, he returned to Hull, where, on June 28th, both he and his father were arrested. On July 2nd Sergeant-Major Purefoy and his brother, Captain Purefoy, acting on instructions previously received from the Hothams, brought into the City some sixty Cavaliers, disguised as market-folk, who were concealed in the Deanery. With their assistance the Magazine was to be seized, and the gates of the City opened to the Queen's forces, which were in the immediate neighbourhood. The Mayor of Hull sent a warning to the City authorities, and the two Purefoys were arrested. The Cavaliers in the Deanery sallied out, and made an attempt to seize the Magazine, 'but by the Discharge of a Cannon by a Countryman, that never discharged a Piece before in his Life, several of them being slain, they were suppressed, and the Forces without, finding their Design frustrated, retreated.' In a few weeks' time, however, the City was considered untenable, and on July 30th Lord Willoughby removed all his forces to Boston. Lincoln thus fell again into the hands of the Royalist soldiery, who plundered the City, attacked Edward Reyner in his own church, and 'would have pistoll'd him, had he not succeeded in escaping by the vestry window.' The *Lincoln Date Book* has this entry for 1643: 'Edward Blow, the Mayor of the City, imprisoned most of the year by Parliament, or absent with the King's party.'

On October 20th, ten days after the battle of Winceby, Lincoln surrendered to the Earl of Manchester, and the garrison of the Castle were allowed to depart unarmed. In

March 1644 the Royalists again obtained possession of Lincoln, but, on May 6th, Manchester's army stormed the Close. An account by an eye-witness of the fight is given in a letter by Goode, one of the chaplains of Manchester's army. He says: 'We came to Lincoln on Friday the third of the Moneth . . . and drew up our whole Army in the face of the City on the brow of the hill. . . . My Lord sent a Trumpet to them, with a fair demand of the place, whereunto a very uncivill answer was returned. . . . Hereupon my Lord commanded two Regiments of foot to draw downe towards the gate and drawbridge, who so undauntedly approached the enemy that, after a very short dispute, terror seized upon their spirits, and our men possest themselves of the low town, the Enemy flying to the upper town and castle.' The Royalists then tried to fire the lower town, but in vain. Manchester wished to storm the upper town and castle on Saturday, May 4th, but rain fell all Friday night and Saturday, making the ground very slippery, and so the attack was postponed to Monday, May 6th. After a sharp fight, Manchester obtained possession of the City, which later on became his headquarters. At this time great damage was done not only to the town but to the Cathedral. Evelyn's *Diary* tells us: 'The souldiers went in with axes and hammers, and shut themselves in, till they had rent and torne off some barge-loads of mettal, not sparing even the monuments of the dead, so hellish an avarice possessed them; besides which, they exceedingly ruined the Citty.' According to a local tradition the Cathedral was used as a stable for the horses of Manchester's army, but there is no trustworthy evidence of the truth of this story.

For the next few years Lincoln remained unmolested, but in 1648 fresh troubles began. Royalist insurrections broke out in many parts of the country; Pontefract Castle was taken by a stratagem, and the Parliament Committee at Lincoln thought that Nottingham, Belvoir and Tattershall

were in danger. They therefore despatched bodies of horse to these three places, leaving only one hundred men, under Captain Bee, a woollen draper, to defend Lincoln. On Friday, June 30th, a band of Royalists, under Sir Philip Monkton, crossed the Trent and marched on Lincoln, where they arrived about noon. The garrison withdrew into the Bishop's Palace, and defended it until the Royalists succeeded in setting fire to it. Captain Bee and his men then surrendered on terms, one condition being that their persons and property should be protected. Meanwhile the Royalists had been busy plundering the City, and wrecking the houses of prominent supporters of the Parliament. Original Peart's house, in particular, was very seriously damaged. He was away from Lincoln at this time, serving under Cromwell in Northumberland. Sir Philip Monkton did not observe the terms of the surrender. All the defenders of the Bishop's Palace, both officers and men, were carried away as prisoners, and all the plunder of the City, including the wares and goods of Captain Bee, was put into carts, and sent off to Gainsborough.

During this raid Reyner, who had narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Royalist soldiery in 1643, and had fled to Norwich, was again in great danger. After two years' absence he had been appointed preacher at the Cathedral in 1645; he had therefore returned to Lincoln, and resumed his duties at S. Peter's at Arches. The soldiers found him in the Minster, and, when he fled into the library for refuge, they followed him with drawn swords, shouting that they would have him dead or alive. Reyner therefore unlocked the door, and surrendered himself. They stripped off his coat, robbed him of his purse, and led him off, a prisoner, through the streets of Lincoln until they met one of the Royalist leaders, Captain Gibbon, an old pupil of Reyner's, and he at once ordered him to be released. Next day, Saturday, July 1st, Monkton evacuated Lincoln and returned to Gainsborough, while on July 5th the Royalists

were completely defeated at Willoughby, and Monkton and many others were taken prisoners.

During the Civil War, great damage was done to Lincoln. The Bishop's Palace, as we have seen, was burnt; the lead was stripped from the roofs of many churches, and leaden pipes and other fittings were taken from private houses, for the making of bullets. Many houses were wrecked; Lord Willoughby's house being so badly damaged that it was uninhabitable. Evelyn describes Lincoln in 1654 as 'an old, confused town, very long, uneven, steepe and ragged; formerly full of good houses, especially churches and abbies.' According to tradition an incomparably greater disaster at one time threatened the City. In the latter part of 1652, money was needed for the war with Holland, and the Rump Parliament proposed to raise it by the demolition and sale of the Cathedrals, Canterbury, in particular, being marked out for destruction. The proposal was never carried into execution, the lands of Royalists being seized instead. It is most probably to this period that the following extract from Abraham de la Pryme's *Diary* refers. 'When all the minsters or cathedrals and collegiate churches should have been pulled down in Cromwell's days, there were some very busy for getting a grant of Lincoln minster; which when one Captain Pert, parliament man for Lincoln, knew, he went to Cromwell, and told him that, if the minster was pulled down, Lincoln would soon be one of the worst towns in the county, and made it so plainly out that Cromwell told him it should not be touched, so it was preserved. Yet this same Pert got great part of the Bishop's lands, and upon some in the city of Lincoln built a delicate fine house, which cost him about £900; out of which he was soon turned when the Bishop was re-established in King Charles II's return.' (*Surtees Soc.*)

De la Pryme's authority for this statement is unknown; but, if the story be true, Captain Pert (i.e., Original Peart)

deserves, whatever we may think of his politics, to be reckoned among the greatest benefactors of Lincoln. Unfortunately but little is known of his life. He was Chamberlain of the City in 1634, Sheriff in 1640, and Mayor in 1650. As we have seen, he served under Cromwell in the Civil War, and he represented Lincoln in the two Protectorate Parliaments (1654-1656). He was made Town Clerk, '*clericus communitatis civ. Linc.*' in 1684, and he accompanied the mayor and two aldermen to London, where, on October 18th of that year, they were introduced by Judge Jeffreys, and surrendered to the King the charter of Charles I and all earlier charters, petitioning for a fresh charter, which was promised. After this, no further mention of Original Peart is found in the Lincoln records.

The Charter of Charles I, mentioned above, had been granted in 1628; it was a Charter of Incorporation, which established the Common Council, with thirteen aldermen, four coroners, four chamberlains and other officers. Under this Charter Lincoln was governed until 1834. The Charter promised by Charles II was granted on December 17th, 1684. It renewed the former privileges, but reserved to the Crown power, by order in Privy Council, to remove all or any of the officers of the City at the King's free will and pleasure. This power, however, does not seem to have been exercised.

It may be of some interest to trace the subsequent careers of Reyner and Willoughby, whose names have appeared several times in the history of the Civil War.

Edward Reyner continued as Rector of S. Peter at Arches till 1662, when he was ejected on his refusal to accept the Act of Uniformity. He died at Lincoln in 1668.

Willoughby, like many of the more moderate men, was alienated by the increasing violence of Parliament, and at length, on September 8th, 1647, he and six other lords were impeached, and accused of designing a new civil war. Next day they were arrested, and were kept in prison for.

four months, when, on their petition, they were released. On February 8th, 1648, six of the impeached lords appeared at the House of Peers, and were released on bail. Willoughby did not appear, but sent a letter saying that, after being imprisoned for four months without particular charge being brought against him, and being released, he had 'withdrawn.' He said he had always been faithful to the Parliament, and begged that a favourable construction should be placed on his retirement. (Rushworth.) Finally on June 3rd, 1648, all the seven lords were acquitted. Willoughby meanwhile had fled to Holland, and joined the Royalists. He was appointed Governor of Barbados, and arrived there in April 1650. A Parliamentary fleet reached the island in October 1651, and on January 11th, 1652, Willoughby was compelled to surrender. Barbados acknowledged the sovereignty of Parliament; Willoughby's estates in England were to be restored to him, and the free enjoyment of his property in Antigua, Barbados and Surinam secured. He returned to England, and during the Protectorate he was twice imprisoned for plotting, but was soon released. At the Restoration he was again appointed Governor of Barbados, and he beat off an attack by the Dutch in April 1665. The French seized the English part of St. Kitts in April 1666; Willoughby set out to retake it, but was lost at sea in July of the same year.

As we have seen, the Royalists and Parliamentarians of Lincoln were nearly equal in numbers; this caused many disputes as to the appointments to the various city offices. In 1653 the Presbyterians and the Royalists, on the one hand, and the Cromwellians on the other, nominated rival candidates for the Town-Clerkship. Mason, the Cromwellian candidate, was elected, but the validity of the election was disputed. Soon afterwards an Alderman died; the Royalists nominated Robert Wrosse, and the Cromwellians William Hall. These had held the office of Sheriff in 1641 and 1646 respectively. Wrosse was elected, and a Royalist

was also chosen to fill up the vacancy in the Council, which had been caused by Wrosse's promotion. The Royalists now rescinded the election of the Town-Clerk, and appointed South, their own candidate. On September 14th Wrosse was elected Mayor for the ensuing year, and was duly installed at Michaelmas. Meanwhile, on September 21st, Cromwell issued a Proclamation continuing the Act of 1652, which had forbidden the election of Royalists. John Oliver, who had been Mayor for the year 1654-5, and the partisans of Cromwell among the Aldermen and Common Councillors sent up a petition, complaining of the election of a 'delinquent Mayor,' and the 'outing' of the Town-Clerk. Two of Cromwell's Major-Generals, Whalley and Berry, were sent to Lincoln to inquire into the matter. Whalley was Major-General for Lincolnshire and four neighbouring counties; Berry knew Lincoln well, and possessed property there. They reached Lincoln on November 10th, and met the local Commissioners, of whom Original Peart was one. Whalley felt himself hampered in his work, as he was not a justice of the peace, and had no judicial authority. The Corporation, however, imagined that he possessed this power, and he was careful not to disillusion them. He says: 'I was forced at Lincoln for the composing of a long and hot difference betwixt the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, to assume a little more power than, I think, belonged to me; and I hope God hath made Major-General Berry and myselfe instruments to reconcile them and settle their government.' (Thurloe.) Wrosse was displaced, and Hall was appointed Alderman and Mayor in his stead. The dispute about the Town-Clerkship, however, persisted. The Royalists were still in the majority, and they refused to declare South's election invalid, and Mason's legal. Whalley suggested that both elections should be declared void, and that his own nominee, William Perkins, should be elected. For a long time the Corporation refused to do this, but at length Whalley,

threatened that he 'would take away their Sword and Charter from them,' and they yielded. At the Restoration, Wrosse regained his office as Alderman, and Hall was displaced.

On October 28th, 1695, William III visited Lincoln, and was received with great enthusiasm. A long account of this visit is preserved in the archives of the City. The King arrived about seven o'clock in the evening, and was met by the sheriffs, 'with torches, lincks and flamboys,' between the Red Hall and the Bargates, the town being so brightly illuminated 'with candles in every bodies chamber windows, that you might have seen to pick up a pin in the streets.' The Mayor and Aldermen received the King at the Bargates, and escorted him to his lodging. 'Here Mr. Mayor, the Recorder, Aldermen, Steward, Town-Clerk, and Sheriffs, all on their knees, kissed the King's hands, and were entertained at a bankett with wine and all sorts of sweetmeats in great quantitys, all at the King's charge.' Next morning, between seven and eight o'clock, Mr. Mayor and all the officials of the City attended the King to the Minster to hear prayers; after which His Majesty went away over Dunham Ferry. In the following year the King granted a Charter by which the citizens were allowed to hold a fair every year for three days, beginning on the first Wednesday in September. This is the last of the long roll of Lincoln Charters.

The period from the Restoration almost to the end of the eighteenth century was a time of lethargy and retrogression in Lincoln as in the whole of England. The *Lincoln Date Book* for these years contains revolting accounts of public executions and of conditions in the prison, where those under sentence of death were herded together in the 'condemned pit,' with nothing to lie on but straw. The prison was visited by Howard in 1784, and again in 1788. He describes it as one of the worst in the kingdom; —a disgrace to the City, and shocking to humanity.

At the elections, too, bribery was rampant. In 1768 'a man in a masquerade dress delivered moncy to all freemen without distinction who came for it; three guineas to freemen of the town, four guineas to county voters, and seven guineas to Londoners, and all this, as was supposed, to promote the interest of Mr. Scroope.'

Among the brighter features of the time was the care bestowed on repairing the City churches, and in providing for the poor in times of severe weather or bad harvests; while in 1769 the County Hospital was established. A citizen of Lincoln about this time, whose name should not be overlooked, is Sir Cecil Wray, who in 1775 protested against the taxation of the American Colonies, since they were not represented in Parliament, and in 1783 presented a petition against the Slave Trade.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Lincoln began to feel the effects of the Methodist movement. John Wesley visited the City in 1780, and preached on the Castle Hill. During the sermon a storm came on; the keeper of the Court-House opened the door, and Wesley preached from the magistrates' seat. He came again in 1781, and several other times, and finally in 1790, when he preached in the new Methodist Chapel. Wesley's opinion of the people of Lincoln is worth recording. 'There seems to be,' he says, 'a remarkable difference between the people of Lincoln and those of York. They have not so much fire and vigour of spirit, but far more mildness and gentleness, by means of which, if they had the same outward helps, they would probably excel their neighbours.'

The revival of religion begun by the Methodists was carried on by the leaders of the Evangelical and Tractarian movements successively. Lincoln, with its carefully tended churches, its theological college, and its newly restored Cathedral, must again be reckoned, as in former times, one of the great religious centres of England. Much is due to the Bishops of the last sixty or seventy years;

when we read of Bishop King's personal ministrations to condemned criminals, we are reminded of S. Hugh's kindness to prisoners, and we feel that we are in a different world from that of the 'condemned pit.'

Lincoln shared in all the progress and reforms of the nineteenth century, and until recently was a prosperous town, its agricultural machinery being used in all parts of the world; it was, however, seriously affected by the prevailing depression of trade after the War.

As we look back over the history of Lincoln, with its long record of struggle and suffering, century after century, we realize that, though much remains to be done, yet great advance has been made, that 'through the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day,' a day of greater humanity, wider toleration and ordered liberty.

CHAPTER II

THE MINSTER—HISTORICAL SKETCH

Majorum gloria posteris lumen est.*
SALLUSTIUS.

LINCOLN MINSTER has a charm peculiarly its own; reared aloft on the hill, the beauty of its exterior at once strikes the eye and fills us with admiration. We think, too, of those ancestors of ours who had such a noble conception of what a Temple of God should be, and when we have pondered upon the pious zeal with which they must have been inspired, we may pass on to consider a deeper significance which their work has for us to-day. Here, for centuries past, the Minster has looked down upon the changing world with its ever shifting opinions, typifying in itself that stability, peace, and beauty of life which are to be found only in the service of the unchanging God.

Thus Lincoln makes its appeal to those who love the beautiful in architecture and old time craftsmanship, and to those who come in the spirit of pilgrims seeking refreshment of heart and mind. For nearly nine centuries Lincoln has possessed a Minster, which, in point of architectural beauty, can challenge comparison with any other in our land. From its majestic situation on the crest of a steep hill, it overlooks the wide valley of the River Witham and the broad expanse of flat Fenland. Truly the Minster of Lincoln may well claim to be the most stately, as it is certainly one of the loveliest, of England's ancient sanctuaries.

Lincoln, unlike Ely and Peterborough, was never the Church of a Monastery, for the word 'Minster' has long outgrown its original meaning found in the old English word 'Mynster,' or Latin word 'Monasterium.' A Minster had its origin in a monastic building, but the word

* The glory of ancestors sheds a light around posterity.

now is generally used not of monasteries, but of secular churches, and means only a large or important church or cathedral, whereas the old English word Mynster, meant a church attached to a monastery.

From the time of Remigius, Lincoln was the seat of a Bishop, a Cathedra, the name being derived from the Greek word 'Kathedra,' a chair, and the cathedral contained the Bishop's throne or chair; yet the name Minster has been applied to Lincoln for centuries. Lincoln is thus one of the seven churches in England to which the title has clung, the others being York, Ripon, Beverley, Southwell, Lichfield, and Wimborne, and they were, one and all, churches served by secular canons.

The history of this Cathedral takes us back only to the closing years of the eleventh century, for Lincoln is the comparatively modern successor of two very ancient Sees, that of Lindsey, with its seat at Siddena Ceaster, which may be identified with Stow, or as some authorities suggest, with Caistor, established in 678 with Eadhed as the first Bishop; and that of the Middle Angles, with its seat at Leicester, formed in 680; both formerly part of the wide Mercian Diocese which was thus divided by Archbishop Theodore.

Time, however, brought many changes. During the Danish invasion, the eastern part of England was soon overrun by these pagan pirates, who, with fire and sword, completely stamped out Christianity in that part of England which they conquered. In 870 the stone church at Stow was burnt by them, and the indelible marks of fire still to be seen on the ancient walls of this church, testify to the damage done in the diocese. Bishop Berhtred was murdered, and for eighty years the See was vacant. Then to escape these ravages of the Danes, the seat of the Bishop was removed to Dorchester-on-Thames, near Oxford, where, in 635, Birinus, a Roman priest who had sought leave of Pope Honorius I to convert Wessex and had been made Bishop of that Province, had fixed his throne, and had built a church.

As time went on, the two Sees of Lindsey and Leicester were united, and in 952 Leofwin became Bishop of this vast combined diocese, which stretched from the Humber to the Thames, and comprised no fewer than ten of our present counties, viz., Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Leicester, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford and Hertford. For some time the Cathedral church at Dorchester continued to be the ecclesiastical centre and the style of the Bishops was of Dorchester, Leicester and Sidnacester.

Immediately after the Norman Conquest, however, the See was transferred to Lincoln. The last Bishop of Dorchester before the Conquest was Wulfwy or Wulfwig (1053-67) who was Chancellor to King Edward the Confessor. He survived the Conquest, but on his death, Remigius, a Norman monk, was consecrated as his successor.

Remigius de Fécamp, the Norman Bishop of Dorchester, we are told, had previously been the Almoner of Fescamp Monastery in Normandy, but when William the Conqueror was preparing to invade England, Remigius came forward and contributed one ship and twenty warriors towards his expedition. For this assistance, William promised him the See of the first vacant Bishopric, and on the death of Wulfwy in 1067, the year following the Conquest, William I fulfilled his promise.

Thus Remigius became Bishop of the largest and most powerful diocese in England, but coming from Normandy, a country rich in noble cathedrals, he was not content for long with his seat at the little town of Dorchester, situated in the most remote corner of his diocese, and he soon began to seek a more central and worthy site. After searching through the vast territory over which he exercised his ecclesiastical authority, and considering all favourable positions, he eventually transferred his See to the 'Sovereign Hill' of Lincoln. Henry of Huntingdon, who lived in Lincoln in the twelfth century, and who is buried in

the Minster, tells us that Remigius was also displeased with the smallness of the town of Dorchester, since in the same diocese the most illustrious City of Lincoln appeared far more worthy to be the seat of a bishop. 'Having bought, therefore, certain lands on the summit of the hill hard by the Castle, standing aloft with its strong tower, he built a church, strong as the place was strong, and fair as the place was fair, and dedicated it to the Virgin of Virgins, which should be both a joy to the servants of God and, as befitted the time, unconquerable by enemies.'

According to this statement, Remigius purchased land on the highest part of the City, and from a Charter of William I, we learn that land in Lincoln was also given to this Bishop on which he could be 'free and quiet from all dues to build the Mother Church of the whole diocese.'

So on the hill of Lindum, on the consecrated ground where already existed a small church dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene, Remigius erected his great Cathedral. The little Saxon church was swept away to clear the site, and in the south-east corner of the old Roman city, probably in the year 1073, the work of construction was begun. Much opposition came from the Archbishop of York who laid claim to the ground as part of his rights, but in spite of this, Remigius urged forward the work, and the massive building grew 'after the manner of the Church of Rouen, which he had set before him as his pattern in all things,' though the Constitution which he framed for his Church was derived from the Cathedral of Bayeux.

The exact date of the transference of the See is uncertain, but it took place between 1072 and 1075.

The church, however, was completed in 1092, and in accordance with Norman custom, a staff consisting of a Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, men who were highly approved for their learning and character, was appointed. Twenty-one prebendal stalls were founded for twenty-one canons, and seven archdeacons were placed over the diocese.

Everything was ready for the consecration, and the date of the ceremony fixed for May 6th, when all bishops were bidden by Royal order to attend, but the great builder was not to witness the dedication, for on the preceding day, Ascension Day, Remigius was called to his God. His body was laid to rest in front of the Altar of the Holy Cross, and later on his remains were removed to a place of honour on the north side of the Altar.

In addition to the Cathedral, Remigius built a monastery at Stow, another at Bardney, and a hospital for lepers at Lincoln, while he also encouraged the erection of Battle Abbey by William I, and of the Abbey at Caen in Normandy.

The exposed foundations and the portions which fortunately remain of the Cathedral of Remigius are sufficient to give some idea of the size and structure of this early Norman building. From these we know that it was cruciform in plan and measured about 300 feet in length. Two massive towers were built at the western end and a great central tower was raised over the Rood. The nave of ten bays with side aisles had a flat panelled roof and the north and south transepts were about one-third of the length of the present great transepts. Parts of this original building may be seen in the central portion of the west front containing the three recesses, in a part of a bay of the Nave between the western towers, and in the lower stages of the towers themselves which reach to the level of the Norman roof.

The Church of Remigius was characterized by austere simplicity. The massive bare walls, the absence of ornament, the deep edges of the semicircular arches devoid of mouldings, the wide joints of the masonry, and the square fashioned stones are characteristic of the work of this great builder.

But this austere building did not long remain as he left it for successive Bishops have rebuilt, enlarged, and so adorned it, that the original church has been transformed

into the great Cathedral of to-day so notable for its dignity and beauty.

Remigius was succeeded by Bishop Bloet, the Chancellor of William Rufus, who dedicated this new church to the Blessed Virgin Mary. During the thirty years of his episcopate his genius lay perhaps more in the direction of organization than in that of improvement or addition to the fabric. He was probably more interested in ceremony than his predecessors had been; consequently he founded and endowed twenty-one more prebendal stalls, and greatly enriched the Cathedral with ornaments and 'Crosses of Silver.' In 1123 Bishop Bloet died at Woodstock, Oxon., while riding with Henry I.

Misfortune, however, soon befell the Cathedral, for in the next year 1124 a great part of the building was destroyed by fire, and we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, that the falling roof broke the stone which covered the body of Remigius, 'splitting it into twin portions.' This fractured and elaborately carved stone may still be seen preserved in the eastern bay of the north side of the Nave.

The damage done by this fire is also recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which states that 'nearly the whole town of Lincoln was burnt with a great number of persons, both men and women.'

About two months after the fire Alexander the Magnificent became Bishop. He at once set to work to restore the Cathedral, but during his episcopate many fierce battles were fought around the Cathedral and Castle between the forces of Stephen and Matilda, and in 1140 the Minster itself was fortified by Stephen against the armies of his opponent. He lined the parapet with his bowmen, and erected his engines of war on the walls of the façade built by Remigius, but on Candlemas Day, February 2nd, 1141, auxiliary forces of Welshmen under the Earl of Gloucester made an unexpected attack, and the following day Stephen was sent to the Castle at Bristol

where he was kept prisoner. Later on, however, terms were agreed upon between the leaders of these opposing forces, and at Christmas Stephen was crowned King in Lincoln Cathedral.

In 1141 another disastrous fire occurred, and the flat panelled roof, typical of those early Norman churches as may still be seen in the Cathedrals of Peterborough and S. Albans, was destroyed. To prevent a similar calamity Alexander built a vaulted roof of stone, and we are told, restored the Cathedral in so exquisite a style 'that it was surpassed by none in all England.'

His work is seen in the three west doorways and in the interlacing arcade above the recesses of the remains of the building of Remigius, being grand specimens of the late Norman architecture. He also carried up the three stages of the western towers, and built the beautiful gables which face north and south.

This Bishop evidently loved to build—whether it was something beautiful or something needing strength. In his early days he had built castles at Sleaford, Newark and Banbury, and he also founded monasteries at Haverholme, Thame, Dorchester and Sempringham.

Alexander carried the work forward until his death, which occurred in 1147 at Auxerre in France, where he had caught a fever while on a mission to meet the Pope; his body, however, was laid to rest in his own Cathedral. This Bishop also increased the number of prebends, and was the founder of the archdeaconry of Stow.

Robert de Chesney, an Englishman, and Archdeacon of Leicester, succeeded Bishop Alexander in 1148. He apparently did not contribute to the building of the Cathedral; he did, however, build a residence for himself in London, and also erected much of the stately episcopal Palace at Lincoln, for which he pledged the ornaments of the Cathedral to Aaron the Jew for £300. This Prelate is principally remembered as being the officiating Bishop at

the Coronation of Henry II at Lincoln, and as the founder of S. Catherine's Priory. At his death in 1167, he left the See much in debt.

For the next seven years the Bishopric of Lincoln remained vacant, so that the revenue might enrich the royal exchequer. Then Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Henry II, was appointed Bishop, but being only in deacon's orders, and under age, he was not consecrated Bishop while at Lincoln. He at once set to work to restore the financial position. He redeemed the sacred ornaments from Aaron, paid off the mortgages of the late Bishop, and made several valuable gifts to the Cathedral including 'two great and sonorous bells,' which, later on, were recast to make the present 'Big Tom.' In 1183 he resigned and eventually became Archbishop of York.

Walter de Constance, Archdeacon of Oxford, and a Cornishman, followed him, but he did not stay long, for the next year he was translated to the Archbishopric of Rouen, and the See of Lincoln was again vacant, this time for two years.

During this period another misfortune befell the Cathedral. On April 25th, 1185, it is recorded by Hovenden, Abbot of Peterborough, that 'a great earthquake was heard almost throughout the whole of England, such as had not been heard in that land from the beginning of the world. Rocks were split, stone-built houses fell into ruins, and the Metropolitan Church at Lincoln was torn virtually asunder from top to bottom.'

The following year, 1186, Hugh of Avalon was appointed to the See by Henry II. He at once began to reconstruct his Cathedral which had been shattered by the earthquake, but his plan, apparently, was to build a new and greater church, and in 1192, exactly one hundred years from the completion of the Church of Remigius, the first stone of the present choir was laid. The new building grew up outside the old one, for it was one hundred feet longer and ten feet

wider, and so services were continued in the original church until the new structure was ready for use.

The work was executed under the direction of Geoffrey of Noiers, an Englishman with a French name, and was supervised by the Bishop himself, who also assisted, not only by contributing to the building fund, but by actually helping with the labour, carrying stones to the builders and sharing the general toil.

The noble work of this Master Builder may be seen in the present choir of four bays, the eastern transept with the eastern chapels, and a portion of the eastern wall of the great transept. The original apse, semi-hexagonal in plan, reached to the second bay of the present Presbytery, but this was removed in the thirteenth century in order to build the Angel Choir, an eastern extension of five bays.

These portions of the work of Bishop Hugh are of exceptional interest to students of architecture, for they afford the earliest known examples of pure lancet Gothic. This new style, known as 'Early English,' is believed to have had its origin in this Cathedral. It is characterized by the pointed arch, the rounded abacus, small clustered shafts, deeply undercut mouldings, and it most successfully combines lightness with strength. This work is unlike contemporary architecture in France, and is entirely free from all traces of Norman influence.

But, like Remigius, Bishop Hugh was not to witness the completion of his building schemes, for in 1200 he passed from this world while in London. He had given minute directions for his funeral and desired to be buried in his consecration vestments 'from the sandals to the Mitre'; 'they are plain and not showy, and I have kept them for this purpose'; so his body was brought to Lincoln and laid to rest in the Chapel of S. John the Baptist in his own Minster. It was followed by a multitude of mourners, King John himself assisting as a pall-bearer, and was received by three archbishops and thirteen bishops.

Many miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb, so that in 1220, this great Prelate was canonized by Pope Honorius III. But the chapel in which the remains of the Saint were laid soon became inadequate for the crowds of pilgrims who flocked to his shrine, and a larger building became necessary. To meet this need the Apse of the Choir of S. Hugh was removed and the east end extended. This work was begun in 1255, and in 1280 the remains of the Saint were solemnly translated to a site near the High Altar.

William of Blois succeeded S. Hugh, but he died in 1206 and the See was vacant until the appointment in 1209 of Hugh de Wells, the Chancellor of England, who had been Archdeacon of Wells and so took this name to distinguish himself from the former Bishop Hugh.

At this time England was lying under an interdict owing to the refusal of King John to recognize Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. Hugh de Wells, we read, obtained leave of John to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Rouen and appeared to set off for that place, but instead of going to Normandy, he went directly to Rome where he was consecrated by Cardinal Langton. John was much enraged at this insubordination, but the Bishop preferred to displease the King rather than the Pope.

During his episcopate the work begun by S. Hugh was continued, and was carried on in the same style which suggests that it was under the direction of the same architect. The marble shafts alternating with those of stone, the double arcading in the transepts and the pigeon-hole recesses between the arcade arches, are distinctive features of this architecture.

Hugh de Wells died in 1235 and was buried in the Cathedral. By this date much of the Great Transept was built, the Nave with the side aisles carried westwards, and the wonderful rose-window, known as the 'Dean's Eye,' a

most perfect example of plate tracery, inserted in the north transept.

Hugh de Wells also built the beautiful Galilee Porch, which was used both as a porch and for ecclesiastical assemblies; the Chapter House, with its ten pairs of lancet windows, its fine arcading, clustered pillars, and beautiful central pillar supporting the groined roof; and the two western chapels, the one on the north known as the Morning Chapel, and the other on the south as the Consistory Court. Bishop Hugh de Wells thus made many additions to the building but he is particularly remembered for his work in the diocese, and for the establishment of more than three hundred vicarages.

In 1235 the famous Robert Grosseteste became Bishop of Lincoln. The son of a Suffolk peasant, he was educated at Paris and Oxford, and became the greatest scholar of his age. In his zeal for reform Grosseteste soon became involved in a dispute with his Chapter. This is recorded at some length by Matthew Paris who tells us that one day a remarkable event took place. One of the canons was preaching in the Cathedral, and had laid before his hearers a serious complaint against the Bishop, saying, 'Even if we be silent, the stones will cry out,' and at this moment the great Rood Tower crashed into the Minster crushing the people under it. Other authorities also describe this strange calamity and state that three men were crushed to death under the ruins.

But sometimes good comes out of misfortune, for this ill-supported tower was then replaced by the magnificent tower of to-day, reputed to be the most beautiful in all England.

The work of Grosseteste in the Minster may be seen in the Rood Tower as far as the two storeys above the nave roof, in the richly arcaded upper portion of the great West Front, and in its flanking turrets; that on the north surmounted by the figure of the Swinherd of Stow blowing

his horn, and that on the south by the figure of S. Hugh. The exquisite doorways leading into the choir aisles are also his work, and are said to be the most perfect specimens of the later period of Early English design and execution that it is possible to find.

In 1254 Henry Lexington, formerly Dean of Lincoln, became Bishop, and it was during his episcopate that little S. Hugh is supposed to have been crucified by Jews. His great work was the commencement of the building of the magnificent Angel Choir. Having received permission from Henry III to remove the wall of the Roman City for an eastward extension of the Cathedral, the beautiful Presbytery which was to be a more worthy setting for the shrine of S. Hugh was begun. Bishop Lexington also built a chantry in his Minster, but he closed his short episcopate of four years in 1258 and so did not live to see the completion of the Angel Choir. His body was laid to rest near that of Bishop Grosseteste.

Bishop Richard de Gravesend, Dean of Lincoln, followed him, and the greater part of the Angel Choir was built during his time.

Oliver Sutton, Dean of Lincoln, succeeded him in 1280, in which year the Presbytery was completed. The body of S. Hugh was then translated with magnificent ceremony from its first resting place in the Chapel of S. John the Baptist, to the exquisite shrine of gold set with jewels behind the High Altar in the Angel Choir, in the presence of King Edward I, his Queen, and family, the Archbishop of Canterbury, many Bishops, Abbots, Noblemen, and a large number of laity. After Leland's visit to the Minster he wrote: 'S. Hugh liethe in the Body of the Est parte of the Chirche above the High Altare' and Dugdale described the exquisite shrine of S. Hugh as being made of beaten gold, in length eight feet and in breadth four feet.

The Angel Choir, the monument of S. Hugh—and perhaps the fairest monument ever erected to any one man—

is the latest addition to the Minster, and belongs to the period of transition between the Early English and Decorated styles, just when Gothic architecture was attaining its highest development. The choir is so called from the figures of angels with outstretched wings which fill the spandrels in the triforium arches.

The master-mason was Richard of Gainsborough; his body lies in the vestibule of the north-east transept of the Minster.

Bishop Sutton also began to build the cloisters and vestibule which present a small but beautiful example of the Decorated period of architecture. He was responsible, too, for building the little church of S. Mary Magdalene near the Cathedral, to serve the parishioners whose former church had been destroyed by Remigius. The charming little Vicars' Court also was begun during his time. In 1300 this learned and pious Prelate died when he was in the act of praying.

He was succeeded by John D'Alderby, Chancellor of Lincoln, who finished the Great Tower and erected the elaborate Rood Screen in 1320. The large circular window, known as the 'Bishop's Eye', with the gable and windows above, though inserted about 1330, are considered to have formed part of his plans. Bishop D'Alderby is also distinguished in history as having presided at the trial of the Knights Templars. He is described as a man of clear judgment with deep devotion to the duties of his high office.

In 1320 this worthy Bishop died at Stow and his body was laid in a shrine of pure silver in the south transept, where the base of this tomb and two pillars still exist. Bishop D'Alderby was revered as a saint and many pilgrims flocked to his shrine, but the Pope refused to canonize him.

Henry Burghersh, a prebendary of York, Treasurer and Chancellor of England, was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln

at Boulogne in France in 1320. This Bishop is distinguished as having officiated at the Baptism of the Black Prince, and as being one of the twelve commissioners appointed to consider the deposition of Edward II. In the following reign he accompanied Edward III to Flanders, where he died. His work may be seen in the Minster in his own Chantry Chapel in which his body was laid to rest.

John de Welbourn, the munificent treasurer of the Cathedral from 1350 to 1380, was also a great builder; and the vaulting of the Central and Western Towers is part of his work as is the panelling of the walls beneath them. This benefactor gave the beautiful choir stalls, and erected over the great west door the row of eleven niches containing statues representing the kings of England from William the Conqueror to Edward III, unfortunately cutting into the richly ornamented moulding of the Norman arch; these figures do not reach the high level of craftsmanship found elsewhere in the Minster. Probably the early Perpendicular window at the west end of the Nave may be due to him, for in his work is seen a transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular styles.

Although the building of the Minster was practically finished with the completion of the Angel Choir, many comparatively small additions and improvements have been made by succeeding bishops, and also by the clergy and laity of this great diocese.

A Chantry Chapel was built by Bishop Fleming, who died in 1431, one by Bishop Russell, Chancellor of Edward IV, who died in 1493, and another by Bishop Longland, the spiritual director of Henry VIII, who died in 1547. All these chapels are built in the Perpendicular style of architecture.

The Library, with the cloisters under it, is built in the Classical style, designed by Sir Christopher Wren in 1674, and the open battlement of the Central Tower was designed by Essex, the Cathedral architect, in 1775.

It has been previously stated that in the time of William I, the diocese of Dorchester-Lincoln stretched from the Humber to the Thames, and comprised no fewer than ten counties. In 1109, during the reign of Henry I, however, the area was decreased by the formation of the diocese of Ely, which removed Cambridgeshire from the rule of Lincoln, and in the time of Henry VIII, was further diminished to constitute the Sees of Oxford and Peterborough; the diocese of Oxford was bounded by the limits of the County, while Northampton and Rutland were assigned to Peterborough. In 1550 the Archdeaconry of S. Albans was placed under the See of London. In 1837, during the episcopate of Bishop John Kaye, the counties of Bedford and Huntingdon were taken out of the Diocese and annexed to Ely; at the same time Leicester was joined to Peterborough, in 1837 also the County of Nottingham, which had formed part of the province of York, was annexed to Lincoln, from which it was again separated on the formation of the Diocese of Southwell in 1884, while in 1845 Buckingham was transferred from Lincoln to Oxford. Since this time various alterations have been made, so that the diocese, as at present constituted, is confined to the county, and is divided into two archdeaconries, Lincoln and Stow.

Till the Reformation, Lincoln Minster was undoubtedly the finest and richest in the whole kingdom, the number and splendour of its tombs and treasures were almost incredible; then, however, as with many of our ancient sacred buildings, Lincoln Minster was much despoiled, and again later in the Civil Wars, in common with many of our cathedrals and churches.

During the reign of Henry VIII the shrines of S. Hugh and Bishop D'Alderby were seized and the precious metal appropriated to the personal use of the king. No less, we are told, than 2,621 ounces of pure gold and 4,285 ounces of pure silver were removed, besides an amazing

quantity of diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies, turquoises, and other jewels.

In 1548, Bishop Holbech, being a zealous adherent of the king, gave up all the remaining treasures. Many of the monuments were mutilated or destroyed, and the Minster was stripped of its ornaments and glass. Bishop Holbech and his Dean pulled down and defaced most of the beautiful tombs, mutilated the figures of the saints round about the building, and tore down the Crucifix, so that at the end of 1548 there was scarcely a whole figure or tomb remaining. Bishop Taylor, 1552, and his successor Bishop Bullingham, 1560, are both reputed to have carried on the same policy as Bishop Holbech.

The next century brought the outrages of the Civil War when brasses were torn up by the Parliamentary soldiers in 1644, the tombs of S. Hugh, Bishop Grosseteste, and other holy dead were defaced, and the rich brass gates of the choir and the chantries were pulled down.

Since that time the former grandeur of the Minster has been only partially restored. After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, successive bishops, deans, and chapters made great attempts to repair the building, and much was restored by Bishop Fuller and Dean Honeywood, who were great benefactors to the Cathedral. In 1872 the north-west transept was restored, and four years later the West Front and the south-west tower underwent repairs. In 1884 the whole of the open parapet on the western side of the Central Tower was blown down during a storm, and the remaining sides were so insecure that an entire restoration was necessary.

The greatest restoration, however, in the history of the Minster commenced in 1922, during the episcopate of Bishop Swayne, when it was realized that the methods of repair at different times had never really touched the root of the trouble, which apparently could be traced back to the times when the building was practically destroyed by the

fire of 1141, and by the earthquake in 1185. The damage done was never overcome, for though in 1235 the Nave was rebuilt, there was no attempt made at bonding this to the Norman front and the Western Towers, which it was desired to preserve. It was found that now this portion of the Cathedral was a maze of cracks and that all three towers were in imminent danger of collapse. Sir Francis Fox, the great expert who drove the Simplon Tunnel, in consultation with Sir C. Nicholson, the consulting architect of the Cathedral authorities, decided upon immediate steps to preserve these damaged parts. Owing to the condition of the masonry, it was evident that it could only be saved by cramping and grouting by an improved method devised by R. S. Godfrey, C.B.E., the Cathedral Surveyor. To enable the walls to be reinforced with metal cramps before grouting, the walls (*some of which are twenty feet thick*) were drilled with jackhammers driven by compressed air, this being the first time these tools had been used for the repair of historic buildings, though this method was adopted for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral some three years later.

Delta bronze metal was used for cramps and reinforcements. Reinforced concrete beams were constructed from the west front screen and connected with other reinforced beams inside the towers; these were carried along the whole length of the clerestories to the west piers of the Central Tower, and along the north and south transepts, the result being that the West Front is now anchored right back beyond the Great Transept.

During these operations the author was privileged to make the ascent in the builder's lift to the pinnacles of the Rood Tower which reach 254 feet above the pavement. Many interesting features in obscure places were pointed out by the Surveyor, who had directed the work during the ten years of restoration, and to whose skill and care the final result will be a permanent memorial.

The fund of £140,000 needed for these repairs was raised by the zeal of the late Dean Fry, and the generosity of numerous churchmen, both in this country and in America. £33,220 was given by our transatlantic friends to repair the Central Tower and Transepts in memory of their ancestors, some of whom sailed to Boston, Mass., in the *Mayflower* in 1621.

The completion of the restoration was made by the re-erection of the Cross on the gable of the south transept in August 1932, and the great thanksgiving was held on November 3rd, 1932, when the Duke and Duchess of York, and a number of bishops, deans, provosts, and clergy of the diocese were present.

Though many crumbling stones were replaced by new ones during these ten years, all the beauty which survived the Civil Wars has been preserved, and the Minster to-day reared on the 'Sovereign Hill' of Lindum, 'strong as the place is strong and fair as the place is fair,' still stands aloft to compel our admiration and to draw our hearts to itself.

CHAPTER III

THE MINSTER—EXTERIOR

JUST as a beautiful gem gains something from its setting, so Lincoln Minster has an added dignity due to its position on the hill, dominating, as it were, the town and the surrounding country.

As we mount the hill the view of the exterior, from this majestic situation, is most impressive, and we can well understand the admiration it has excited in so many beholders.

The stone used in its construction is mainly oolite quarried from the limestone beds of Lincoln Heath; this stone has the remarkable property of hardening with time and exposure, so different from that used for the exteriors of Oxford Colleges where constant repairs and refacings are necessary.

The history of the Cathedral is in some measure reflected in the various types of architecture of which we find examples; thus Early English is largely represented, and in lesser degree, Norman and other styles.

On entering the Minster yard from the Exchequer Gate, the West Front, grand and impressive, rises as a massive wall from base to parapet, and unsupported by buttresses or projections, presents an aspect of solidity and simplicity. In this front we see a wonderful combination of three styles of architecture, showing the three periods during which the Cathedral was built or added to. There is the severe early Norman work of Remigius, the later or Transition style of Alexander the Magnificent, and the close of the Early English period, chiefly of the time of Bishop Grosseteste.

The solid central portion, distinguished by its extreme plainness, though relieved by three deep recesses with circular-headed arches, is part of the first Cathedral built

by Remigius. To the centre one a pointed arch was added in the time of Grosseteste. A similar arched recess is seen in the southern wall which retains a large round-headed window. The blocked doorway below formerly opened on a circular staircase in the south-west angle, leading to a gallery built in the thickness of the wall which ran across the whole of the West Front, but owing to alterations, this passage is now inside and below the great rose window and the cinquefoil above, and from it one may view the whole interior length of the Minster.

The small square stones, the sharp edges of the arches, the absence of mouldings and ornaments, the massive construction, the wide-jointed masonry in this stern and fortresslike front, are characteristic of the work of the warrior Bishop Remigius.

A remarkable band of sculpture, rudely carved, runs across this early Norman front. This is now thought to belong to a later period but it is believed by some authorities to be Saxon work, probably forming part of an earlier church and preserved here by the founder of this Cathedral. The subjects represented are the same as those among the earliest known examples of Christian art, though they form no definite sequence. There are various interpretations, the one according to Bishop Trollope of Nottingham, commencing from the north side, is :

1. The torments of Hell.
2. Our Lord's victory over Satan.
3. The happy Communion of Saints.
4. Our Lord's care of the faithful souls.
5. Christ with the two disciples at Emmaus.
6. The blessedness of the righteous contrasted with the torments of the lost souls.
7. The expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.
8. The curse of Man because of his disobedience.
9. Hannah and the infant Samuel, and Samuel announcing God's judgment to Eli.

10. Our Lord instructing a disciple.
11. The building of the ark.
12. Daniel in the lions' den.
13. The animals entering the ark.
14. Noah and his family in the ark.
15. God communing with Noah.
16. The effects of the Flood.

The work of Alexander the Magnificent is seen in the three round-headed doorways with their carved pillars, fluted cushion capitals, and richly sculptured mouldings; in the fine arcade of interlacing semicircular arches extending over the two side recesses; and in the three lower storeys of the Western Towers erected in three tiers of arcades, with their elaborately ornamented gables on the north and south sides. All this work is executed in the late Norman or Transition style of architecture. The Norman towers then reached to the base of the present belfry windows, the upper storey being added about two and a half centuries later.

The third epoch in the history of this front is shown in the elaborately arcaded screen wall along the top, which unfortunately conceals the lower Norman arcades of the two Western Towers. At each end of this screen rise the noble octagonal stair turrets with miniature spires. The one on the south is surmounted by the mitred statue of S. Hugh and the one on the north by the figure of a pious swineherd of Stow, who, tradition says, gave his life's savings—a horn of silver pennies—to the building of the Minster. All this was done during the time of Grosseteste, as we know by the trellis ornament in the spandrels so characteristic of the work of this bishop.

There is very little work of the Decorated period represented in this front. The row of canopied niches over the central door, containing the statues of eleven crowned kings from William the Conqueror to Edward III, was erected by John de Welbourn, Treasurer of the

Cathedral 1350-1380, and the tracery of the three large western windows, though rather poor work, was executed during the Perpendicular period, towards the end of the fourteenth century.

The two Western Towers rising from behind the Early English screen compel our attention. As stated the three lower storeys, with their elaborate arcades, and richly ornamented gables to the north and south, are beautiful specimens of early Norman architecture of about 1148. The upper portions with their tall coupled windows and tabernacled parapet were erected on the Norman towers about the year 1380. Octagonal turrets rise from the corners and terminate in pinnacles reaching to a height of 184 feet; the whole effect makes these towers 'among the noblest in Christendom.' Formerly these were crowned with spires of timber covered with lead and about 100 feet in height, but they were removed in 1807-8.

S. Mary's Tower to the north held 'Great Tom' until it was recast in 1610; it was then placed in the Rood Tower, its present position. Two service bells now occupy the north-west tower, and a beautiful peal of twelve bells hangs in S. Hugh's Tower. Staircases in the turrets lead to the top of these towers and the view on a clear day will amply repay the effort of mounting them.

During the restoration in 1922-32, an interesting discovery was made of a Norman newel staircase in the north-west tower. Owing to building the abutment in support of the Norman arch, this staircase, which we are told, had been lost sight of for seven hundred years, is now opened out again.

An architectural curiosity, too, may be seen in the stone spring beam—a low flat arch constructed between the two Western Towers. This beam is formed by twenty-three stones bound together by coarse mortar showing a rise of only sixteen inches. Formerly, when jumped upon, it

responded by perceptible vibrations, but now it is made rigid. Its purpose does not seem quite clear though authorities conclude that it may have been constructed as a gauge between the towers to give warning of any movement of the outer walls.

Passing round the south-west corner we see the Consistory Court, a chapel added in the thirteenth century to widen the nave, and this, with a corresponding chapel on the north, commonly called the Morning Chapel, form small western transepts. Strong buttresses support the Consistory Court, and the heads of the three fine lancet windows rise with high pitched gables ornamented with interesting sculptures. The central one is a grotesque figure of human form, and on either side is a pilgrim with his staff and wallet, wearing a broad brimmed hat; the one on the north zealously eating from a bowl of porridge.

The long line of the Nave with its coupled lancet windows, continuous arcading, and clerestory windows, then comes into view. From this position, too, one obtains, perhaps, the best view of the wonderful Rood or Central Tower, the 'loftiest medieval square tower in the world.' The two lower storeys, supported on four massive piers composed of twenty-four shafts of Purbeck marble and Lincoln stone alternately, are the work of Bishop Grosseteste, and replaced a lighter structure which fell in 1244. Above the windows in these storeys will be seen the trellis-work characteristic of the architecture of this builder. The Tower of Grosseteste reached only as far as the arcading, level with the ridge of the nave roof, and was crowned with a tall spire of wood covered with lead.

The upper storey, begun by Bishop D'Alderby in 1307, and finished in 1311, is built in the Decorated style. This great bell tower, pierced on each side by tall twin windows, with trefoils in their heads, beneath an ornamented arch

is one of the most marvellous creations of architectural art; in beauty and dignity it has no superior. The profuse crocketing, the carved open battlements, the four panelled corner turrets, each terminating in a pinnacle supporting a gilded vane, and the noble proportions of the whole structure justify all the admiration it receives.

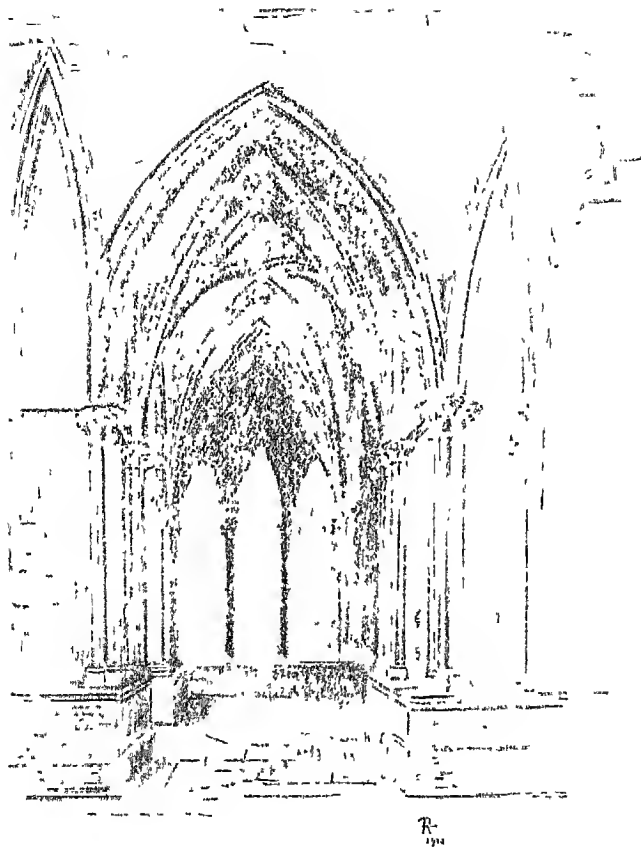
The height of the tower from base to vane is now 271 feet; formerly it carried a spire of timber covered with lead. It then reached a total height of 524 feet and was reputed to be the loftiest spire in Europe—but in January 1547 the spire was destroyed in a tempest.

The Rood Tower is now occupied by four Quarter Jacks which strike the Cambridge chimes, and by Great Tom which announces every hour.

A climb up this tower is well worth while; for, from the top, one has a wide view over the City below and the Fenlands to the south and east, while on a clear day Boston 'Stump' forty miles away is visible, and towards the west, the tall spire of Newark church can also be seen.

During the great restoration when this tower was enveloped in a network of scaffold poles, the writer was enabled to examine quite closely the beautiful and elaborate work even in out-of-the-way places. The same care and skill which are seen in the statues occupying prominent positions, in the mouldings and dog-tooth ornament of the bays, in the tracery of the windows, and the Ball Flower ornamentation, in the carvings on the screens, and arcadings in the chapels, are also found in the bosses in the roof, in the apex of the arches, and in the decorations all the way up to the highest pinnacles.

This beautiful tower is at once a monument to the genius of its designer and the skill and devoted craftsmanship of those who actually built it, and put of their best even into the details of its hidden ornamentation. It has well been said, 'It is the finest Rood Tower in the world,' and we recall the words of Longfellow:



THE GALILEE PORCH

'In the oldest days of Art,
Builders wrought with greatest care
Each minute and unseen part;
For the Gods see everywhere.'

Looking from the top over the lead of the long nave roof, shining like a sheet of silver in the sunlight, the same conscientious work is shown in the construction and in the details of the two Western Towers, though unfortunately but little of the beauty of these towers can be seen from the ground level.

The Galilee Porch at the south-west corner of the Great Transept was built originally to furnish a stately entrance-way to the Cathedral from the Bishop's Palace. This porch, cruciform in plan, consists of two storeys, the upper one resting on richly ornamented open arches. The vaulting is particularly rich in dog-tooth, the main ribs having three rows of this carving—a distinctive and unusual feature—and makes this porch, erected in 1235, one of the most beautiful examples of Early English architecture.

The Upper Chamber or Parvise, lit by tall lancet windows, has a panelled and embattled parapet surmounted at each corner by a cross; though this was a later addition it harmonizes with the earlier work.

Formerly this upper chamber served as an ecclesiastical court of justice, but now it is used as the Muniment Room and contains over 4,000 original charters and documents belonging to the pre-Reformation period alone, besides many precious treasures of the Minster.

Various explanations have been suggested for the name 'Galilee' given to this porch. It may be so called from its resemblance to Galilee of the Gentiles in being a place of inferior sanctity; it was formerly that part of the church where penitents were permitted to come, and possibly the allusion is to Galilee as an outlying portion of the Holy Land. This name is sometimes applied to the western

extremity of the nave of a church as being a part regarded as less sacred than the rest.

The South Transept has buttresses reaching to the top of the clerestory and terminating in tall pinnacles, but the wonderful circular window known as the 'Bishop's Eye,' with its beautiful tracery, is the great feature of this transept. This window and the corresponding one in the north transept known as the 'Dean's Eye' have been said to symbolize the two eyes of the church; the one on the north needs to keep watch against the entry of the evil one, while the eye on the south invites the gentle influence of the Holy Spirit. The Bishop's Eye is the second window to occupy this position, and dates only from 1330; its beauty can perhaps be better appreciated from the interior. The decorated window in the gable and the pierced parapet above are also of exquisite design and workmanship.

East of the Great Transept extends the south wall of the Choir of S. Hugh with its fine clerestory and tall buttresses. Beyond this projects the south-east transept, the gable end of which, with its narrow lancet windows, marks the boundary of the work of S. Hugh. On the eastern side of the transept are built the Apsidal Chapels dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul, each having a small clerestory; on the western side is the Vestry with the Music Chamber above. Beneath these are the windows of an old vaulted crypt.

The Angel Choir, matchless in beauty and design, was built to receive the shrine of S. Hugh between 1255-80, just when Gothic architecture had reached its highest point of excellence. Perfect in proportion, design, and workmanship, the Angel Choir of Lincoln claims to be a masterpiece of English Gothic architecture. With its crocketed gables and pinnacles, its elaborate tracery and ornamentation, it forms a striking contrast to the simplicity of the Choir of S. Hugh, and the massive fortress-like work of Remigius.

This choir consists of five bays as indicated by the projecting buttresses which were formerly adorned with statues.

In the third bay from the east is the richly sculptured South Porch, which may have been designed as the state entrance way of the bishop, after the presbytery had been built. The deeply recessed doorway with a richly ornamented arch, has on each side canopied niches holding beautifully sculptured, though mutilated, statues. Many of the figures round the arches are said to be crowning examples of English statue carving. In the tympanum over the double portal, a fine carving in relief depicts the 'Last Judgment,' and a carving of the Holy Virgin and Child, sculptured in the same style as the symbolical figures on either side, has been replaced in the canopied niche below.

The famous gargoyle on the east of the South Porch which represents the 'Devil riding on the back of a witch and looking over Lincoln,' has been mentioned by Scott in *Kenilworth*, and by several great writers.

The porch is flanked on either side by a Perpendicular Chapel. The one on the west built by Bishop Longland is dedicated to S. Catherine and bears the builder's arms; that on the east, dedicated to S. Blaise, was built by Bishop Russell whose coat of arms also appears on the buttress.

The buttresses of the choir are beautifully enriched with canopies and crockets and were formerly adorned with statues, some of which still remain. Those on the south-east pier represent King Edward I and his Queen Eleanor. The king is shown trampling on a Saracen, and the whole group impresses one by its force and vigour of treatment. On the next buttress stands the beautiful figure of Margaret, the second Queen of Edward I, which is one of the finest examples of medieval sculpture in England.

There is also much to admire in the windows of the choir. These, too, are perfect in design and execution, and so in harmony with their setting.

The east end of the Minster is of singular beauty, the three decorated gables being supported by buttresses and turrets ending in crocketed pinnacles.

The great east window, with its eight lights, measures fifty-seven feet in height and thirty-four feet in width, and with its pure bold tracery is a noble example of geometrical Decorated architecture. On either side is a smaller but beautiful window of three lights, and above is another large window of five lights, while in the trefoil above, surmounted by a cross, are the figures of the Blessed Virgin and Child. Tiers of arcading, with niches probably once holding statues, adorn the lower parts of this east end of the Minster.

Near the north-east angle is the sacred well now covered with a stone structure.

Passing to the north side of the Angel Choir we find the same richness of treatment repeated in the decoration of the buttresses with their niches for statues, the crocketed heads ending in finials and gargoyles, in the cornice of the aisle roof, the pierced parapet, the tracery of the clerestory and aisle windows, as on the south side.

The little Perpendicular Chantry Chapel, founded by Bishop Fleming (*d.* 1430), projects from the second bay of the Angel Choir. The window above is a memorial to S. Hugh, and was dedicated on November, 17th 1900, seven hundred years after his death.

In the third bay is the north doorway with a large arch of several mouldings and bearing a royal coat of arms. The narrow pointed lancet window on either side adds much to the effect.

The north-east transept will be noticed with its buttresses and gable surmounted by a small spire. Three long lancet windows pierce the top, below these are two wider ones, then two still wider, and two large lancets on the ground floor.

The north end of the Great Transept supported by pillared buttresses terminating in pinnacles then provides material for study. Five lancet windows occupy the gable flanked by turrets ending in pinnacles. Below is the

wheel window—the Dean's Eye, then a row of small lancets, and on the ground level, the Dean's Door leading to the Deanery. From this position, the great flying buttresses supporting the huge extent of Nave vaulting and roof, stand out as prominent features; the smaller buttresses seen between them support the aisles of the Nave.

Here on the Minster Green stands the statue of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, the Poet Laureate, a native of Somersby, Lincolnshire. The memorial, the work of G. F. Watts, R.A., erected in 1905, represents the poet dressed in his familiar cloak and wide brimmed hat, looking down at a flower in his hand while his favourite dog, a Russian wolf-hound, looks up into his face. The statue is made of bronze mounted on a stone base bearing the single word 'Tennyson.' The verse addressed to the flower is inscribed on a small tablet fixed to the railings enclosing the monument:

'Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies;
Hold you here, root and all in my hand,
Little Flower, but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and Man is.'

The Cloisters are situated on the north side of the Cathedral, which is an unusual position, though perhaps it is more remarkable to find any cloisters at all, since Lincoln Cathedral was never attached to a monastery. They were built in the thirteenth century and are a fine example of Early Decorated work. We shall have more to say about them in a later chapter.

From these cloisters one obtains a striking view of the exterior of the Choir of S. Hugh, and of the famous Rood Tower.

The north walk of the cloisters, rebuilt by Sir C. Wren, supports the Cathedral Library, part of which dates from 1422. There remains then to be mentioned only the Chapter House, a beautiful polygonal building erected in 1220, which may be approached from the cloisters.

CHAPTER IV

THE MINSTER—INTERIOR

THE main western doorway of the Minster gives access to the Central Porch where portions of the earliest work of the building may still be seen. The arches on either side were blocked up in 1726-7 to give support to the Western Towers, but high up in each wall is a window of the original clerestory, and below is the outline of a round arch of the early triforium.

The two outer western doors lead into the lower storeys of the towers; these doorways are also part of the first cathedral, but the vaulting is the work of Treasurer Welbourn, three centuries later.

The Nave is then entered through a classical doorway made in the low archway which was blocked up to form a strut between the two towers.

The interior of the Minster at once gives the impression of a vast and lofty building, and the development in architecture from the austere simplicity of the early Norman work at the west end, to the elegance of the Early English of the nave and transept, and on to the elaborately ornamented retro-choir, is wonderfully exemplified.

It will be seen that the plan of Lincoln Minster to-day with transepts, like those of the Cathedrals of Canterbury and Salisbury, forms a double or archiepiscopal cross. The whole building covers an area of 57,200 sq. feet, and a study of the plan will show that it now consists of a western Screen, and a small Western Transept with each arm divided into two chapels; a Nave of seven bays; a Central Tower; the main Great Transept of three bays, each arm containing chapels, and a Galilee Porch leading from the south arm; the Choir of S. Hugh of five bays; the Eastern

Transept with four apsidal chapels on the east, and vestries on the west, the Angel Choir of five bays—two of which form the Presbytery—with chantries, and recessed doorways on the north and south.

The Cloisters extend between the Great and Eastern Transepts, and the Chapter House may be approached by a vestibule from the north-eastern transept.

Looking eastwards from the west door, beyond the massive arches supporting the great Rood Tower to the Choir of S. Hugh and to the Presbytery beyond, the eye surveys the whole length of the interior measuring 482 feet, though the Rood Screen and the organ above obstruct the view of the east end of the Minster.

The Nave, beautiful and dignified, extends over 215 feet from east to west, and over 80 feet from north to south. It was built in the first half of the thirteenth century in the Early English style, and the effect of the seven wide arches with hood mouldings, supported by piers twenty-three feet high, of charming diversity and unparalleled lightness, compels admiration.

The exact measurements of these arches and piers show how scientifically the building was constructed, and how much care must have been taken by the builders in the selection of dimensions best calculated to give this harmony of proportion, and marvellous effect of space and grandeur.

There is, however, a remarkable irregularity in plan at the west end, for the axis of the Choir which is continued in a straight line nearly to the end of the Nave, suddenly diverges to the north, and falls into the axis of the Norman West Front. The span of the two westernmost arches is also narrower than those of the five to the east, but this decrease may be due to reasons of economy, for after the fall of the Great Tower and removal of the Norman Nave, the rebuilding was commenced at the east end and carried westwards. It may have been decided in the course of the

work to incorporate the original Norman Front instead of removing it, and this necessitated a clever manipulation of the vaulting of the roof to make it fall into line with the west end. The width of the wall in the north side of the great arch at the west end is apparently narrower than that on the south side; but in spite of these irregularities, which take little from its beauty, few buildings are more impressive or more satisfying than the interior of this Minster.

The great piers supporting the arches are composed of pillars of Lincoln stone surrounded by shafts of Purbeck marble, and vary in design; some are banded in the centre, the eastern ones being more elaborate, but all are set on bases having the upper portion of Purbeck marble.

To describe the many details there are to admire in the Triforium and Clerestory of the Nave lies beyond the scope of this book; space will only allow for a general description of their structure.

Over each nave arch are two large arches of the Triforium with quatrefoils in the tympana; each of these encloses three small pointed sub-arches, divided by shafts of three pillars with foliated capitals. The easternmost and the two western bays have only two sub-arches.

The Clerestory above the Triforium, has triple lancet windows in each bay, which are supported by clustered shafts with foliated capitals. The light through these windows spreads over the nave vaulting, and illuminates all the mouldings richly ornamented with dog-tooth carving.

The vaulting of the Nave is also rich in mouldings and perfect in articulation. Seven ribs spring from capitals of triple vaulting shafts in the triforium between the spandrels of the great arches, and have beautifully carved bosses where they intersect.

The Aisles of the Nave, being narrow, appear very lofty. The ribs of the cinquepartite vaulting, spread forty feet above the pavement, spring from the nave pillars to meet

those from five detached pillars on the outer side. In the north aisle the detached pillars which stand clear from the wall, have mouldings decorated with dog-tooth running up between them.

During repairs to the vaulting of the second Nave bay in 1930, the names L. W. Paris, Fricabon, and Brande were revealed, which, it is thought, may be the names of the artists concerned with the decorations of the vaulting. When the roof was cleaned, the thirteenth century decorations on the vaulting were quite distinct. All the bosses had been picked out in gold leaf, and painted in colours of red, blue, and green in relief. Certain sections of these decorations were repainted, so that they should not be lost.

Behind the aisle pillars runs a beautiful wall arcade in trefoiled arches, supported on triple detached shafts with carved foliage on the capitals. Along the north aisle this arcading is continuous, but in the south aisle it is only repeated in portions.

The glass in the windows of the Nave, being for the most part modern, calls for no special attention. The great west window, however, was originally composed of three lancet windows and is filled with glass of the late Decorated period, while the scroll indicates that it may possibly have been a Jesse window. In the cinquefoil above is seen the figure of the first bishop holding a small model of the Cathedral in his hand.

The four western windows in the south aisle represent scenes from the stories of Moses, Joshua, the Judges, and Samuel, and were presented by A. and F. Sutton, who were also the artists. The original ironwork of a medallion window still remains in the first window from the west in the south aisle. The windows in the north aisle are also filled with modern glass; most of them have been presented as memorials to Lincoln personages.

The western Chapels flank the early Norman work and form a small western transept. The two on the north are

known as the Morning Chapel and the Chapel of S. James, while the two on the south are the Consistory Court and the Ringers' Chapel.

The *Morning Chapel* may be so called from the purpose it served in olden times when prayers were said in it every morning at 6 o'clock. This Chapel is dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene and is now used for early services and for private devotions. Perhaps the most interesting architectural feature is the central pier consisting of eight keeled shafts of Purbeck marble, supporting the vaulting ribs, so cleverly designed to meet those which spring from a vaulting shaft between the Chapel and the Nave. An early arcading adorns the east wall, but this is interrupted by a large aumbry on the north and by a double piscina recess, divided by a shaft of Purbeck marble resting on a square plinth, on the south. The trefoil-headed arcading along the north wall, ornamented with dog-tooth, has similar capitals and mouldings to that along the south screen, which divides the Chapel from the Nave. The two openings in this screen give a view of the Altar.

The adjoining Chapel on the west dedicated to S. James is also known as the Wickham Memorial Chapel. The vaulting is similar to that in the Morning Chapel, and an arcading of the same design is continued along the north wall. The circular window in the west front contains a good example of modern glass to the memory of Precentor Bond.

A portion of the first Cathedral forms part of the north wall and is a very good specimen of the work in that solid Norman structure.

The *Consistory Court*, on the south, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The pier between this chapel and the Nave is similar to the corresponding one in the Morning Chapel, and supports a similarly designed vaulting. The large lancet windows are interesting, particularly the eastern one, which has the Agnus Dei in the upper spandrel. A large



THE NAVE AND FONT

To face page 91

aumbry in the north-east wall and a recess for a double piscina in the south-east wall, remind us that Mass was once said in this Chapel.

Since 1609, however, the Consistory Court has been held in this Chapel. This court in every diocese is for the trial of purely ecclesiastical causes and offences, and is the sole survival from the days when the Church had much greater legal power than now.

The Chapel of S. Hugh, or the Ringers' Chapel, adjoins the west of the Consistory Court, and has similar arcading along the south wall. Here again may be seen more portions of the first Norman Cathedral. The Norman staircase, now replaced by an Early English one, led to a passage which formerly stretched across the West Front, but now this gallery runs inside the Rose Window and from it one may see the full length of the interior of the Cathedral. The opening to the circular west window, decorated with numerous mouldings, is very fine work.

The memorial tablets on the wall are inscribed with the names of members of the Society of Ringers of S. Hugh of Lincoln from 1614-1725, a gild known as 'The Companie of Ringers of our Blessed Virgin Marie of Lincolne' which was founded in 1612. Other inscriptions give the names of ringers of a later date.

The square massive Font of black marble brought from Tournai, is believed to be of Early Norman workmanship of the eleventh century, but it has also been thought by some authorities to have been carved in the Nile valley and preserved here by Remigius. The huge bowl carved with winged beasts is supported on a stout central pillar and by smaller pillars set at the four corners.

There are now very few memorials in the Nave. Before the Civil War, we are told, there were eighty-seven Altar tombs and bases in this part of the Cathedral, and until it was restored in 1790, two rows of circular stones remained which marked the positions of the Bishop, Dignitaries,

and Choir in procession. All these have been cleared away, but in the north aisle there still remains a sepulchral slab supposed to be that of Remigius which was removed from the cloisters to its present position. Remigius was buried before the Altar of Holy Cross, probably under the Rood at the western end of the Norman choir. It is said that in 1124 during a fire in the church a burning beam from the roof fell on the tomb and broke it across the middle. Giraldus tells us that the body of Remigius was afterwards removed to the north side of the Altar of Holy Cross. This slab has been thought to correspond to the description of the Norman designs. Carved in relief it represents a kind of genealogical tree of Christ twined to form three vesicas and enclosing figures of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, David, and other saints. It is now placed near the original site of the Bishop's tomb, and the fracture is still to be seen.

The memorial to the late Dean Fry in the south aisle corresponds to that of Remigius, and the new stones used in the recent restoration with the old ones preserved from the earliest church, stand as monuments to the zeal of those great 'Stabilitators' of the Minster.

In the pavement under the great west arch is an interesting memorial brass to William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, 1496-1514. The original brass was removed with others during the Civil War, but the present one, which is an exact copy of the original, was the gift in 1927 of the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College, Oxford, of which college Bishop Smith was one of the founders.

The mahogany Jacobean pulpit once stood in the Church of Sillacy, Rotterdam; this little church has been destroyed, but the pulpit was preserved and presented to this Cathedral by A. C. Benson, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in memory of his father, Edward White Benson, D.D., Chancellor of Lincoln 1872-77, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

The brass Lectern, a memorial to Dean Butler who died in 1894, is a copy of an old one now in Southwell Cathedral, which was thrown into the river during the time of Henry VIII. Valuable papers were hidden in the hollow body of the Eagle and were reclaimed in more peaceable times.

The Nave Altar is surrounded by a screen of wrought iron picked out with gold and carried out in the same design as the thirteenth-century Choir Screen and Gates. This very fine work was done by the Cathedral craftsmen, and was the gift of an American lady.

The Bishop's Chair, bearing the coat of arms of the diocese, was presented to Bishop King by his Christ Church friends, when he left Oxford in 1885.

The Great Transept presents a change in architecture as seen in the comparatively heavy pillars and low vaulting, but it is full of interesting details.

The four massive piers, forty-eight feet in height, and composed of twenty-four shafts arranged alternately of Purbeck marble and Lincoln stone, support the lofty arches which carry the great Central or Rood Tower. The capitals are carved with rich foliage, and the arches, twenty-seven feet in height, are adorned with dog-tooth ornament on the outer and inner edges. The trellis work, the characteristic ornamentation of the architecture of Bishop Grosseteste, fills the spandrels of the arches, and above, two tiers of arcading form the triforium and clerestory. The lantern is pierced on each of its four sides by six tall lancet windows, which light the elaborately traceried vaulting supported by corbel heads in the middle of each side, and raised 127 feet above the pavement.

In the north and south transepts, the vaulting, triforium and clerestory are similar; but evidently part of the building was done before the death of S. Hugh, for the eastern side repeats the designs and characters of his Choir, and is believed to be the work of the same architect. The arches along the eastern side are wide, with elaborate

mouldings, and are supported by piers composed of sixteen clustered shafts of stone and Purbeck marble. The triforium also shows the same design as that in the Choir of S. Hugh, the bays being formed by the characteristic double arches with trefoil openings. Each bay in the clerestory also is pierced by two lancet windows, and two attendant small ones, which again are similar to those in the clerestory of the choir. A different style of architecture, however, is evident along the western side of the transept, particularly in the arcading, which consists of four pointed arches in each bay.

The vaulting in the transept is comparatively low. The six intersecting ribs, richly carved with dog-tooth, spring from shafts reaching down to the ground on the western side, and from corbel heads on the eastern side. Elaborate and richly carved bosses cover the points of intersection; those in the north transept retain their original colouring, but the coloured central rib was repainted in 1876 from traces of the thirteenth-century colour and design.

Perhaps the most attractive features of the Great Transept, however, are the two rose or wheel windows. The decorated one in the South Transept, called the Bishop's Eye, has bar tracery, and reveals some of the most exquisite work ever carved in stone. In it are seen two leaf-like designs set in a frame of rows of open quatrefoils. The window is filled with old glass of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries collected from other windows, and though arranged at random, produces a delightful mosaic effect.

The four lancet windows below also contain glass of the thirteenth century. The colour in the one which represents Salome dancing before King Herod, is particularly rich.

The circular window in the North Transept, known as the Dean's Eye, dates from the thirteenth century, and is a perfect example of plate tracery at its best. The central

quatrefoil is surrounded by four trefoils which again are surrounded by sixteen circles. These are further encircled by mouldings profusely ornamented with florets and foliage, and by an outer rim of dog-tooth carving.

The glass in this window is a specimen of the most perfect work of the thirteenth century extant. The subject represented is the Church militant on earth, and the Church triumphant in Heaven. In the central part are represented the blessed in Heaven with our Lord in the midst, and in the sixteen circles is depicted the mysterious plan of man's redemption. The top one portrays our Saviour seated on a rainbow showing His five wounds, and in the two next on each side are seen figures of angels supporting the Cross and other symbols of the Passion. The next on each side represent S. Peter and other saints conducting souls to Heaven, and in the next pair is the scene of the Last Judgment. In each of the lower five circles is the figure of an archbishop or bishop in eucharistic vestments.

In addition to the subject it represents, this glass impresses one by the intensity and vividness of the colours, the strength and boldness of the outline, and by the dignified attitudes of the figures.

Beneath the rose window five small lancet windows pierce the arcade, and are filled with thirteenth-century white silvery glass probably taken from other windows in the Minster. To these it has been necessary to make some modern restorations. The windows on either side of the Dean's door also contain very excellent glass, but of the late Decorated period, representing angels with musical instruments.

The Dean's door, with its interesting square-headed doorway under a pointed arch decorated with dog-tooth, opens into the Dean's porch and cloisters, which lead to the Dean's house.

The eastern aisles of each arm of the Great Transept have

three Chapels, divided from each other by gabled and arcaded screens of the same date, and separated from the transept by stone and wooden screens of Perpendicular work. The eastern walls of these chapels show where the work of S. Hugh finished, for, at his death in 1200, the building fund was apparently low, and, probably for reasons of economy, a decided change in the design of architecture was made; a single range of arches being used instead of a double one, such as appears in the rest of his work.

The three Services Chapels, on the east side of the North Transept, all joined into one united Services Chapel, have recently been restored as memorials to the fallen in His Majesty's Services, especially to those who fell in the Great War. The southern one, known as the Soldiers' Chapel, is now set apart for the Army, the middle one for the Navy, and the northern one for the Air Force; they are dedicated to S. George, S. Andrew, and S. Michael respectively.

The double arcading of pointed arches will be noticed on the eastern wall in the Chapel of S. George, but this work is not continued in the Central Chapel. The two windows in this Chapel which are filled with stained glass representing 'Sacrifice' by the scene of the Crucifixion, and 'Victory' by the figure of our Lord in Majesty, are memorials to the Lincolnshire men who fell in the Great War.

The oak screen, carved with delicate tracery, separating the Chapels of S. Michael and S. Andrew from the transept, is Perpendicular work, while the screen richly painted in regimental colours separating the Chapel of S. George was erected in the eighteenth century.

The three chapels are divided from each other by low stone screens, arcaded with richly moulded arches, supported by piers of three shafts of marble. These screens extend about one-third of the length of the chapels, so that while each chapel has its own altar, service colours,

and memorials, all three are joined in one united chapel.

Among the various memorials may be seen three large illuminated Roll of Honour Books which record the names of 15,625 officers and men of the Lincolnshire Regiments who gave their lives during the Great War 1914-18.

The chapels in the South Transept are dedicated to S. Edward, S. John the Evangelist, and S. Anne respectively.

The Chapel of S. Edward, formerly dedicated to S. Anne also known as the Chanters' Chapel, and re-founded by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, is nearest the tower. Here the double arcading of the architecture of S. Hugh runs along the eastern wall, but these distinctive trefoil-headed arches in front of pointed arches do not appear in the next bay where there are the pointed arches only, these being supported on two pillars instead of three. In the fourteenth century this chapel was used as the chapel of the works, and four priests were appointed to say Mass daily for the benefactors of the church. In the arch of the stone screen, between the chapel and the transept, carved figures represent the four Chantry priests kneeling, and above them, around the arch, are the words '*Oremus pro Benefactoribus istius ecclesiae.*' The residence of the Chantry priests, known as the 'Works Chantry,' was in Eastgate to the west of the Deanery until 1828, when it was removed. In 1913 this chapel was restored for the use of the choristers, and the tombstone of Precentor Smith, 1717, was brought here to serve as an altar.

The Chapel of S. John the Evangelist is also restored and now used by members of the Diocesan Communicants Guild.

The Chapel of S. Anne, now the southernmost in this transept, contains an elaborate altar tomb of the fifteenth century, probably that of Sir George Tailbois, displaying many heraldic designs. Here is also a memorial slab inscribed to Dean Ward, who died in 1860, and the stained glass was placed in two of the windows to his memory.

This chapel is now chiefly devoted to the use of the women's societies of the diocese, having been restored by funds raised by associates and members of the Mothers' Union and Girls' Friendly Society.

The door at the south-west of this transept opens into the Galilee Porch. The doorway is worthy of notice being formed by a double pointed arch and supported by a central pier of four keeled pillars with carvings of grotesque monsters crawling round the base.

The Galilee Porch has already been mentioned as an admirable example of Early English architecture at the best period. It has a vaulting richly decorated with dog-tooth ornament, and an arcading of sharp pointed arches of singular workmanship.

In the south of this transept stands the fine bronze statue of Bishop Edward King, with his hand raised in benediction, the work of G. Richmond, R.A. The marble base bears his name with dates 1885-1910, and the words 'Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the Earth. Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God. Beloved let us love one another, for love is of God. Everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God.' quotations most appropriate to the character of this beloved bishop.

On the western wall a memorial slab with a bust is inscribed to Bishop Fuller, who died in 1675. Near by once stood the tomb 'of rare marble' of Bishop D'Alderby, who died in 1320. This tomb contained 'his shryne of pure sylver' enriched with diamonds and rubies, and is said to have been enclosed by rails of silver. This treasure was seized by order of Henry VIII when nearly 4,000 ounces of silver from it went into the Royal Treasury. Two shafts, all that remain of the tomb, are seen by the wall.

The thirteenth-century massive stone Rood Screen, elaborately carved, fills the lower part of the eastern arch

of the Rood Tower, and separates the Nave from the Choir of S. Hugh.

In the western front a central archway, under a tall crocketed canopy, opens to a passage leading to the choir, and on either side are four canopied recessed tabernacles.

A stone staircase from the north side of the passage leads to the loft above. The stairway from the south side also gives access to the top of the screen, and to a small room formed in the thickness of the wall lighted by an open quatrefoil, which at one time was used by the Constable of the Close to keep a vigilant eye over those attending the services. The square-headed window overlooking the south aisle of the choir gives light to another small room with a vaulted roof.

On the loft itself a stone seat stretches along the whole length of the western side, above is a frieze surmounted by a pierced parapet. Formerly this screen supported the Crucifix with the attendant figures, and from this platform and projection the Gospel and Epistle were intoned.

The screen now supports the organ which was built in 1826 by W. Allen, and enlarged by his son in 1851, again further enlarged by Willis, the famous organ builder, in 1898 at a cost of £5,000. This four-manual organ is now of great power and the electrical blowing apparatus fills the greater part of the north choir triforium. Under the present organist and conductor, Dr. Gordon Slater, the singing and music of Lincoln Minster attain an unusually high standard. The choristers now consist of four seniors, of Bishop Gravesend's foundation, who formerly wore a black cope made with sleeves and white stole-like borders over a cassock. During the time that Archdeacon Wakefield was Precentor, 1918-20, the style of this unique dress of so long custom was changed. The cope was then made without sleeves, had an embroidered band across the front, and was worn over a surplice and cassock. Twelve choristers are also known as the Burghersh 'Chanters,' and wear a

habit of a plain cassock and surplice; the other choristers are supernumerary men and boys. Formerly there were eight 'choristers,' but the number eventually decreased to four. After the time of Henry VIII the 'chanters' were introduced to supplement the choir.

On each side of the screen an exquisite doorway opens from the Great Transept into the north and south choir aisle respectively. The carving of these doorways is beautiful, and invites the closest inspection, being a fine example of Early English art in open-work bands of deeply undercut roses and festooned foliage. The south choir aisle doorway is a hundred years older than the north, and exquisite carvings adorn the capitals. On the right mischievous birds are pecking bunches of grapes; for this they suffer punishment, and on the left they are seen suspended by their necks. Up in the archway two observant little owls watch those who pass in and out of the choir.

In the north choir aisle doorway the carving of foliage may be interpreted as representing the spoken word proceeding from the mouth of a man whose features are visible in a recess at the base of the left side; the words he utters are greedily devoured by birds seen at the base on the right, though far out of the sight and hearing of the speaker.

The Choir of S. Hugh is entered by either of these aisle gateways or through the central arch of the screen. This portion of the Minster, which is the work of this great Master-builder, includes the Choir of five bays with the aisles adjoining it, the Eastern Transept with the apsidal chapels, and the two bays on each side of the Chancel Arch in the Great Transept.

The original choir had a flat wooden ceiling; the walls, too, were thinner than we now see them, and were supported by flat buttresses on the outside, while elegant wall arcades adorned the inside. Later on, the vaulting was added,

and in consequence, it became necessary to make the walls stronger. This was done by a casing on the inside, and the second wall arcade was made to harmonize with the first. The shafts supporting the vaults were carried down to the pavement, and the walls were strengthened by solid square buttresses built against the flat, original ones so that they might receive much of the thrust of the vaulted roof.

The Choir was built in the time of S. Hugh 1192-1200, and is the finest example of the Early English style of architecture. Although the architect—Geoffrey of Noiers—had a French name, and Bishop Hugh, the great founder, was a Burgundian, there is no trace of French influence to be found in this work, nor does any similarity to this style appear in contemporary buildings in France. Apparently this master-builder did not engage French architects or builders, but employed natives of the country. Consequently the style is that of Lincolnshire and part of Yorkshire at the end of the twelfth century, and here, in the Choir of Lincoln Minster, the pointed arch is believed to have had its origin.

The style of the vaulted roof, too, is singular, for this was the first time that English masons turned a stone vaulting across the middle span with a ridge rib running through the centre. It will be seen that the master-mason never allowed the corner diagonals to meet in the centre, but, by a clever manipulation, he divided each bay into three parts which thus enabled him to spread four ribs from the springing point; S. Hugh's Choir is the only example of this type of vaulting.

The five bays on either side are supported by piers differing in design, though originally they were all composed of octagonal central pillars, around which were detached shafts of Purbeck marble; unfortunately much of the choir was damaged by the fall of the Central Tower, and all the piers, except the eastern ones, had to be repaired or strengthened by additional stone columns.

The stone vaulted roof springing from shafts of Purbeck marble may be rather low, and this perhaps reduces the gracefulness and detracts from the general effect of the choir. There is, however, much to be admired in the triforium and clerestory, though these, too, were badly damaged by the collapse of the tower, and the work of reconstruction was evidently done in a hurry and rather carelessly.

The Triforium, composed of two large arches over two pairs of pointed lancets, has a quatrefoil opening in each tympanum, but the western bay, which was entirely rebuilt, shows a later style than the others.

The Clerestory designed with three lancet windows in each bay, and an inner arcade of marble shafts, produces great refinement and elegance.

The Choir Stalls of carved oak, with their lace-work canopies and elegant pinnacles, are arranged in three tiers on either side of the choir, and are sixty-two in number. In their variety, beauty of design, and accuracy of workmanship they were considered by Pugin, the celebrated architect, to be the finest set in England. Each stall is provided with a hinged misericordia seat, which, when turned up, reveals carvings in bold relief representing figures and scenes from nature. One represents a fox preaching to birds and animals. The carvings on the finials in front of the precentor's stall represent the amusing but tragic story of a monkey making butter. In the first scene he is churning, in the next another monkey is stealing a piece of butter, in the third scene the thief is hiding himself, then comes his discovery, trial, and execution by hanging. Finally, the monkey, laid out for burial, is shown under the seat below the archdeacon's stall.

Four of the stalls facing the east end of the choir are set apart for the use of the Dean and Residentiary Canons; those for the Dean and Sub-dean being on the south side of the organ archway, and those for the Precentor and Archdeacon on the north side. The Chancellor's Stall is at the

eastern end of those on the north, near the Bishop's Throne. Their official names are inscribed on a tablet below the canopy.

A tablet in each of the Prebendal Stalls is inscribed with the name of the Canonry held by the occupier of the stall, and the initial words in Latin of the Psalm or Psalms to be recited daily by him, these being apportioned so that the entire Psalter is recited each day by the Chapter—a custom that was instituted in the twelfth century and a duty which is still practised. It is interesting to note that there is a Prebendary Stall of Buckden, and also of certain churches in Lincoln, namely, S. Martin, S. Botolph, All Saints, Hungate, and All Saints, Thorngate.

These stalls were set up by the munificence of John Welbourn, Treasurer of the Cathedral, 1350–1380, but the statuettes, representing the Saints of the Anglican Kalendar, have been recently placed in the canopies. Most of these were presented by the occupants of the stalls. The Box Pew, known as the Dean's Den, was demolished in 1866, and the five stalls were constructed after the design of the fourteenth-century work, for the use of the Judge of Assize, and his officials.

During the great Restoration of the Cathedral, 1922–32, the stalls were cleaned, and three hundredweight of dust was removed from them by the vacuum process.

The Bishop's Throne was designed by Essex, the Cathedral architect, and so is eighteenth-century work.

In the centre of the pavement of the choir will be noticed the ancient stone inscribed in Lombardic letters, 'Cantate hic.' This stone marks the position of the Litany Desk, from which, following ancient custom, the Litany was chanted by two of the nine lay vicars of the choir, kneeling on a long stool. A few feet east of this slab was the apse of the Cathedral of Remigius.

The Pulpit with its richly carved and lofty pinnacled oak canopy was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., in

1866, and presented to the Cathedral by the Lincoln Architectural Society in memory of Archdeacon Trollope, afterwards Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham.

The Lectern of brass dates from 1667 when it was presented by John Goche, though it may have replaced one which disappeared during the Civil War. The large brass chandelier, surmounted by an emblematic dove, was the gift of Sir Thomas Meres in 1698.

The Altar Screen erected in 1380 retains much of the original work, though it was extensively restored in 1775 by Essex.

The South Choir Aisle, sometimes called the Chanters' Aisle, is entered through the fine thirteenth-century wrought-iron screen. The double interlacing arcade of richly moulded trefoil-headed arches in front of plain pointed ones with external dog-tooth ornament, so typical of the work of S. Hugh, stretches along the south wall, and above this are the coupled lancet windows. The stone screen along the north side of this aisle is later work, and was added, after the fall of the central tower, to give support to the piers.

In the north west bay will be noticed the square grated window, giving light to the small chamber just mentioned, and the door below admits to the Rood Loft.

In the third bay is preserved the remains of the shrine of little Saint Hugh, the Christian boy, with whose crucifixion the Jews were charged in 1255. During the restoration of the Cathedral in 1790, the stone coffin was opened, and the disclosure of the skeleton of a boy three feet three inches long goes to confirm the tradition.

The North Choir Aisle similar in structure to the South Choir Aisle, is also decorated along the north side with double interlacing arcading. In the north-west bay is a wooden screen, carved with the linenfold pattern, separating the Chapel of S. Michael from the Aisle.

The Eastern or Choir Transept, also built by S. Hugh, covers the site formerly occupied by the Roman wall and

ditch. The line passes straight through the Cathedral, so that the apsidal chapels of this transept, the whole of the Presbytery, and the Chapter House lie outside the boundary of the first Roman city.

The architecture of this transept corresponds in style with that of the choir, except a portion of the south transept which was refashioned in the thirteenth century. The bays towards the choir still retain their original work, though the piers were restored and altered in the Decorated period.

The vaulting is particularly fine. The ribs in the South Transept spring from shafts below the clerestory supported by corbels carved as human figures, and in the North Transept the shafts reach down to the triforium. In the construction of this vaulting, wood sheeting or lagging was used and the stone work was laid above it. These details may be seen in a chamber in the north end of the Eastern Transept.

Perhaps the most interesting structural features of this transept are the two octagonal piers known as the Palm Tree Pillars, standing at the angles of the north and south aisles. They serve the same purpose though they differ in construction. That in the South Transept is partly hidden by the stone screen of the Choir Boys' Vestry, but the upper part can be seen on all sides. Four large columns of Purbeck marble are arranged in front of four inner shafts of Lincoln stone. These surround a centre pier ornamented from base to capital with gracefully curved crockets which project and alternate with four smaller six-sided stone shafts. A double Purbeck marble moulding, deeply undercut, encircles the whole pier mid-way up. That in the North Transept has the centre octagonal pier with its four crocketed shafts of stone, whereas the four detached columns, alternating with the four six-sided shafts, are all of Purbeck marble. The whole pier, too, like the corresponding one in the South Transept, is encircled halfway up

by a double band of undercut Purbeck marble moulding. Both piers stand on large blocks of stone with chamfers, and are ornamented with Purbeck mouldings round the base. They are unique in this country, though they are almost identical with the pillars supporting the chancel arch in the cathedral at Trondhjem, Norway.

There are two apsidal chapels in each end of the transept. Three of these stand as they were originally built, but the northern one, dedicated to S. John the Baptist, has been altered, and was rebuilt by Essex in 1772.

The adjoining chapel dedicated to S. Hugh is ornamented with a pointed arcade beneath the windows, and an aumbry and double piscina remind us of its original purpose. The lofty oak screen, carved with the linenfold pattern, separates these chapels from the transept and is late Perpendicular work.

In the western wall of this transept an ancient oak door with very fine wrought-iron work opens into a former sacristy now known as the 'Dean's Chapel.' This square chamber was originally divided into two storeys, the upper one being used as the Dispensary of the Minster, and a row of small recesses where the drugs were kept may still be seen in the south and east walls. The window on the west retains the original shutters. The double arcading work of S. Hugh runs round the two sides of the chapel. The attending angels in the spandrels show exquisite workmanship; some have scrolls in their hands, one holds a chalice, and a small human figure is kneeling in prayer.

On the wall above this doorway will be noticed the frescoes of four Lincoln Bishops—representing Bloet, Alexander, Chesney, and Blois, painted by Damini, an Italian artist in 1723. The door at the north end of this transept, which still retains very good iron work, opens into the cloisters.

In the South Transept the two apsidal chapels dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul are similar to those in the north.

Formerly Mass was said here for the souls of departed Bishops, and now there is a weekly commemoration of founders and benefactors.

The Chapel of S. Peter, the southernmost, has an aumbry and double piscina, but its history is marred by the murder in 1205 of Sub-Dean William Bramfield, while he was praying at the altar. The murderer, we are told, was one of the vicars, who, being tied to the tail of a horse, was dragged through the streets to Canwick Hill where he was executed.

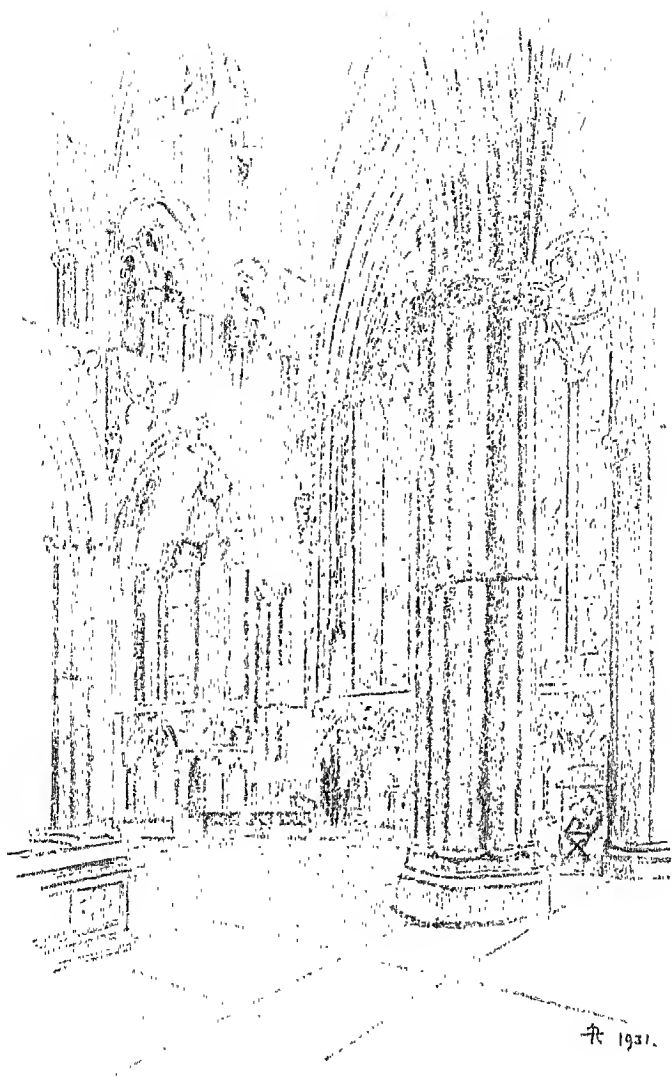
The Chapel of S. Paul, formerly dedicated to S. Stephen, has a late Decorated oak screen. It also contains an aumbry and piscina, and now serves as the Lay Vicars' Vestry.

In this transept stands the exquisite white marble tomb of Bishop John Kaye, 1827-53, designed by Westmacott. The recumbent figure, representing the bishop laying aside his pastoral staff, the symbol of his work on earth, and still holding the Bible, is a beautiful work of art. Here, too, many of the pavements bear inscriptions to the memory of several bishops of Lincoln. One marks the grave of Bishop Hugh de Wells, d. 1235, and quite near lie the remains of Bishop Grosseteste, d. 1253, Bishop Lexington, d. 1258, Bishop Gravesend, d. 1280, and Bishop Repingdon who died in 1420. Near by is the more recent memorial slab that marks the spot where the casket containing the ashes of Bishop Edward Lee-Hicks was buried in 1919.

On the west side of this transept are the Canons' and Choristers' Vestries. The Crypt under the former was probably used as the treasury; the Vestry itself, formerly the Sacristy, has a fine vaulted roof and supports another room above it, now used as a school for singing practice. The vestry is divided from the South Choir Aisle by a decorated screen, ornamented on both sides by rich diaper work of exquisite design. No two of the delicately carved squares are alike. In the centre of one is a clown's head upside down. A set of three depict a bird's nest holding fledglings; a parent bird flying to feed them with a worm in its beak,

and another parent bird flying off apparently to procure more food; while a little dog curled up forms the centre of the lily in another square.

The Vestry contains many interesting features. Along the north side extends a stone trough formerly used for washing and in the corner is a curious old fireplace and chimney where the sacristan baked the sacramental wafers. In the south-west corner are three shafts of structural importance. The inner one supports the inner arch of the double arcade, the middle one the outer arch, and the outer shaft supports the vaulting shaft. The well worn staircase leads to the music room, the triforium and the clerestory, whence one may see more clearly the magnificent workmanship of this great Minster.



THE ANGEL CHOIR

To face page 109

CHAPTER V

THE MINSTER—THE ANGEL CHOIR

THE very name Angel Choir connotes something conceived with the lofty-souled purpose of leading our thoughts upwards, and the Angel Choir more than realizes our expectations. From the purely religious point of view we might almost say that it is an inspired work, instinct with beauty and simplicity, yet expressing that joyousness in the service of God which our forefathers understood so well and which we so often lose sight of to-day. If we consider it solely as a work of art—the highest art—and admire the perfect figures expressing—each in its own way—grace and dignity; the perfect faces, each showing its own individual character, we are bound to feel that we are in the presence of a masterpiece wrought by hands of consummate craftsmanship and with one single purpose in view—the Glory of God. Let us then be thankful that their work remains to us to-day to delight us with its beauty and perhaps to inspire us with thoughts above this world.

The Angel Choir is the easternmost portion of this great Minster, and takes its name from the thirty figures of angels with outstretched wings which adorn the spandrels of the triforium arches. This choir, perhaps more correctly called the Presbytery, dates from 1280, and was built for the reception of the body of S. Hugh which was taken from the Chapel of S. John the Baptist to the magnificent shrine of gold behind the High Altar. The apse of the Choir of S. Hugh was taken down when the Angel Choir was erected. In 1886 the foundations of this earlier east end were discovered, and its position is now indicated by lines on the floor.

This eastward extension consists of five bays, two of which form the Ritual Choir and the remaining three the Presbytery or Retro Choir.

The double row of piers, composed of pillars of Purbeck marble and Lincoln oolite, ornamented with richly carved capitals, support the great arches with their curious hood mouldings, and unpierced trefoils in the spandrels.

The Triforium above at once absorbs the attention, for here art and craftsmanship meet on the summit of excellence. The style of architecture follows that prevailing in the thirteenth century. Two arches over each bay again contain two sub-arches with pierced quatrefoils in the tympana, and in the spandrels of these triforium arches are carved the thirty angels, forming a beautiful frieze, one hundred and eighteen feet long, on each side of the choir. From these figures, the Angel Choir has taken its name, and is famed throughout the world. In the richness of this sculpture the intellectual spirit of the age is shown, for in these figures of stone is represented a series of subjects relating to the Promises of God, the Incarnation of the Word, and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Where all is so perfect it is difficult to select any portion for special comment, but one could linger long with this band of angels, which, with outspread wings, fills the spandrels of the triforium arches in groups of three. Each angel conveys his own particular message: One is reading a scroll, another blowing a trumpet, another has an open book, and another is weighing souls—a good soul has received his reward of peace, but others found wanting have upset the balance and are falling headlong into destruction. A beautiful figure represents our Lord with His hand raised in blessing and showing the wound in His side, another figure depicts the Holy Virgin trampling on a monster, and others Adam and Eve. King David, it may be, is represented by the angel playing a harp, another angel is bearing an olive branch, another is swinging a censer,



THE LINCOLN IMP

To face page xxx

and another is wearing a clown. In the tympanum on the north side of the High Altar are depicted the Blessed Virgin and Child being censured by an angel.

From these we raise our eyes to the clerestory above, which also shares the harmony of the whole design. Four arches containing four lights stand over each bay; these are filled with excellent glass which spreads the light over the fine vaulting of the roof and contributes to the beautiful effect of the choir. The ribs spring from vaulting shafts between the triforium arches and meet those from the opposite side at the intersection of the longitudinal vault, where they are covered with a central boss most richly carved. The shafts of the vaulting, with exquisite foliated capitals, run down below the triforium to corbels of leafage on the piers supporting the great arches.

On the north-east pier will be seen the weird, shaggy-haired little Lincoln Imp perched cross-legged under the corbel; a grotesque figure typical of the freedom in ecclesiastical sculpture characteristic of English art in the thirteenth century. Perhaps no other figure in ecclesiastical art is so widely known, not even the famous gargoyle of Notre Dame, and this quaint little Imp of Lincoln has brought to many an interest in the Cathedral who might otherwise have taken no heed of it. The imp faces the south door and an interesting suggestion is given by Verger Welbourne as a reason for its position. Being so placed it completes the story represented by the carving on the outside of this doorway. In the tympanum is the carved figure of Our Lord in Judgment. On His right hand are the righteous, on His left hand are the wicked, below is a large head with open jaws depicting the mouth of Hell into which another imp is assigning the condemned. The Imp inside thus watches while his brother deals with those unworthy to enter through the door.

The aisles of the Angel Choir, too, have some very charming work, especially in the graceful arcade designed

with most exquisite carvings of little buds and sprays of foliage. Over each bay is a window of three lights with geometrical tracery, which illuminates the vaulted roof, with ribs springing from shafts of seven pillars of stone and marble, ornamented with richly carved capitals.

One could spend much time in admiration of this sanctuary which is said to mark the climax of the art of sculpture in this country. 'In symmetry of proportion, in beauty of design, in delicacy of ornamentation, in richness of moulding, in gracefulness of sculpture, in the union of simple dignity and loveliness, in its traceried windows, and in its general air of queenly repose, it may be safely averred that the Angel Choir of Lincoln is unsurpassed by any Gothic building in the world,' says Precentor Venables.

The great east window, perhaps always the first object in sacred buildings to arrest the eye, is one of the finest examples of geometrical Decorated in the kingdom. A large circle containing six smaller ones forms the head, and is filled with glass representing Our Lord in Majesty. The window has been deprived of its original glass which probably contained the arms of many English nobles, but the eight lights are now filled with modern glass representing the story of man's redemption.

The east windows of the north and south aisles have also interesting tracery and contain glass of the thirteenth century. The medallions in the lower lights represent incidents in the life of S. Hugh.

The present Reredos, executed by Essex, the Cathedral architect in 1764, replaced a classical one designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and a double reredos screen of the thirteenth century formerly occupied the position of the High Altar.

As one would expect, this beautiful monument to S. Hugh contains many chantry chapels and altars founded by benefactors of the Cathedral.

East of the north door is the curious little chantry chapel, founded by Dean Fleming on behalf of himself and his uncle, Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, 1420-31, and dedicated to the Holy and Undivided Trinity. It was built in the Perpendicular period and has a fine doorway with a beautifully carved ogee moulding, which retains its original door. The recumbent figure represents Bishop Fleming in his episcopal robes, and with his pastoral staff; beneath is the corpse wrapped in a shroud and pointing to the moral:

‘Sic transit gloria mundi.’

Bishop Fleming, apart from being founder of Lincoln College, Oxford, has another claim to be remembered. In virtue of his office of Bishop of the Diocese, he was responsible for carrying out the Decree of the Council of Constance, which ordered that the bones of John Wycliffe should be exhumed, and burnt, and the ashes cast into the River Swift. In 1891, this little chapel was restored by the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College, Oxford, in memory of the late Sir Charles Anderson; the reredos being a memorial to Canon Arthur Roland Maddison, a Priest Vicar of Lincoln Cathedral, 1875-1912.

In the eastern bay of the north aisle is the Chantry Chapel, dedicated to S. Catherine, founded for five chaplains and six boys, by Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, 1320-1340, and his brother, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, a notable warrior at the Battle of Crecy, who died in 1356. The Altar of S. Catherine formerly stood in this chapel, and the priests occupied a house in James Street, known as the Burghersh Chantry House. The founder's memorial is a recumbent figure in plate armour, with the head resting on a helmet, under a canopy bearing the shields of King Edward III and his sons, and of other distinguished families with whom Burghersh was connected.

On the south of this Chapel stands the altar tomb of Robert, Baron Burghersh, the father of Bartholomew, and

on the west is a recumbent figure of Henry Burghersh, son of Robert, and Bishop of Lincoln, who was also the Treasurer and Chancellor of England, 1327-28. On this tomb are seen the armorial bearings of personages prominent at that time.

West of the bishop's tomb is preserved the base of a shrine which formerly enclosed the head of S. Hugh. On the removal of the body of this saint in 1280, his head was encased in gold, set with precious stones and placed beside the altar, near the golden shrine containing his body. In 1364, however, this treasure was stolen from the Cathedral, and we are told that the thieves kept the gold and jewels and threw away the head of the saint in the potters' field, where it was protected by a crow. The thieves were eventually captured and hanged at Lincoln, the gold was recovered and the head became forfeit to Edward III, who restored it to the Cathedral. It was then provided with a second shrine by Welbourn, Treasurer of the Cathedral. Money boxes attached to it were opened annually at Pentecost; the last collection recorded was £6 in 1532. After this date the shrine was again despoiled; the gold and jewels went into the Royal Treasury and only the pedestal now remains.

The Chapel of S. John the Baptist is the easternmost of the Retro Choir. The original chapel dedicated to this saint appears to have been the polygonal chapel in the apse of the Church of S. Hugh. When the eastern part was replaced by the Angel Choir, this present chapel was dedicated to S. John the Baptist. As the 'Ladye Masse' was sung in this chapel daily at the hour of prime, in later times it was frequently spoken of as the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In this chapel a chantry was founded by King Edward II in memory of his father, King Edward I and Queen Eleanor. On the death of the latter at Harby, Lincolnshire, in 1290, the body was brought to Lincoln to be

embalmed, after which it was conveyed to Westminster. The viscera were buried in the Minster on the north side of the present altar, and on the site was placed an altar tomb on which rested the effigy of the Queen in brass. This, however, was destroyed during the Civil War in 1644, but in 1891 the present monument, an exact reproduction of the original, was given by the late Joseph Ruston.

At the east end of the south aisle is the Cantilupe Chantry Chapel dedicated to S. Nicholas, and founded by Joan, the widow of Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe who died in 1355. She also built the residence known as the Cantilupe Chantry House for a warden and seven chantry priests, which stands in the Minster yard opposite the Vicars' Court and the drive to the Old Palace.

In this chapel are preserved two monuments of beautiful workmanship, though much mutilated, representing Sir Nicholas Cantilupe and Prior Wymbysh of Nocton who died in 1478.

Against the south wall stands also a recent memorial in Caen stone erected to William Hilton, R.A., a native of Lincoln, who died in 1839, and to his brother-in-law, Peter de Wint, painter, who died in 1849. Bas-reliefs from the work of these artists occupy the panels of the front and west side of the tomb.

A Chantry Chapel is built on each side of the South Porch, the one on the east founded by Bishop Russell, and that on the west by Bishop Longland.

The Russell Chantry Chapel was built in the Perpendicular style and dedicated to S. Blaise by John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, 1480-1493. He was also Chancellor of Oxford University, Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1474, and Chancellor of England, 1483. Over the eastern door, now blocked up, may be seen the coat of arms of the See of Lincoln; and over the western doorway, which still retains its original door of oak and wrought iron, are the arms of Bishop Russell, and a shield with a Cross of S. Andrew. The punning

inscription "Le Ruscellin Je suis," on his tomb, was written by Bishop Russell himself.

This chapel has the original roof of panelled oak well preserved, near the eastern window a double piscina, and on the east wall two brackets for statues. The railed altar tomb contains the body of the bishop and bears a brass shield of his arms—'two chevrons between three roses'—being the sole remnant of over two hundred brasses that were formerly laid down in the Cathedral. Since its date is 1494, it is believed to be the second oldest in the country. This chapel has recently been restored and Holy Communion was celebrated here on S. Blaise's Day, February 3rd, 1932, probably for the first time since the reign of Henry VIII.

The Chantry Chapel on the west of the South Porch was founded by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, 1524-47. During much of his time, he was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and was also the Confessor to Henry VIII. The body of this Bishop was laid to rest in the Chapel of Eton College, but his heart was buried in this chantry. The chapel is elaborately ornamented and bears the coats of arms of Henry VIII, of the See of Lincoln, and of Bishop Longland. The frieze at the top of the chapel also bears an inscription containing a play on his name.

'Longa terra mensura ejus.'

On the west wall are several niches for statues and on the window over the entrance are recorded the names of the Chancellors of Lincoln from 1072 to 1872.

The Easter Sepulchre, combined with a gabled monument to Remigius, stands on the north-west side of the High Altar. It is a beautiful specimen of Decorated work, built in fine proportions and has a canopy of oak. The diaper work in the screen wall has very charming carvings of oak, vine, and fig tree foliage, in which small pigs are rooting among the leaves and acorns. On the lower panels are the

sleeping Roman soldiers clad in surcoats, with their heads and limbs protected by chain mail, most beautifully carved.

In former days the Easter Sepulchre was the scene of much ceremony and devotion. On Good Friday the consecrated Host and Crucifix were placed in the sepulchre, and a solemn vigil kept until Easter Morn, when the Host was replaced on the High Altar with great praise and thanksgiving.

For many years it was thought that this structure formed part of the monument erected to Remigius, since it bore an inscription to his memory, and from a record that his tomb was the first to be censed after the High Altar. In 1926, however, a lead coffin was disclosed containing the remains of a very small man, a chalice, a paten, a portion of a pastoral staff, and linen vestments. Remigius was said to be a short man so it is concluded that the discovered human remains are those of the first great builder of this Cathedral.

Lincoln Cathedral is now by no means rich in monuments, though before the time of Henry VIII it had one of the finest collections in Europe, and to give an account of them would be beyond the purpose of this book. The remaining ones are chiefly confined to the Presbytery. In the first arch on the south side are seen the tombs of Katharine Swynford, Duchess of Lancaster, the third wife of John of Gaunt, and of her daughter, Joan, Countess of Westmorland, who died in 1440. These tombs were badly mutilated in the Great Rebellion, but were restored in the seventeenth century.

Many of the great monuments, including those of S. Hugh in the Retro Choir, of Bishop Grosseteste in the north-east transept, and of Bishop D'Alderby in the south arm of the Great Transept were mutilated or demolished during the reign of Henry VIII, so that now there remains only a pitiful remnant of those originally existing.

The shrine of S. Hugh was of pure gold adorned with

precious stones and stood in the Angel Choir east of the present reredos. The shrine of Bishop D'Alderby was of pure silver, but both these were seized in 1540 among the great spoil from the Minster, which included 2,621 ounces of gold and 4,285 ounces of silver, to swell the treasury of the king.

A black marble tomb set up by Bishop Fuller in memory of S. Hugh behind the High Altar, occupies the site to which the body was removed after the golden shrine had been seized. When the tomb was opened in 1886 the enclosed lead coffin was found to contain only decaying vestments of linen and silk, and no human remains.

Other altar tombs in the Retro Choir are those of Bishop Fuller, who died in 1675, and who did so much to restore the damage done during the Civil War; Bishop Gardiner, who died in 1705, and his son, Sub-Dean Gardiner, who died in 1731.

The sumptuous monument to Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, 1869-85, occupies the third arch in the Retro Choir; Bishop Wordsworth was the nephew of the poet, and was a very diligent and hard-working scholar as well as a devoted Diocesan Administrator.

Opposite the South Porch stands the monument erected in memory of Dean Butler, founder of the Community of S. Mary the Virgin at Wantage, who was buried in the cloister garth in 1894; and eastwards is a memorial slab inscribed to Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, 1280-99. In 1899 the lead-lined coffin was opened, and was found to contain human remains, a chalice, paten, and bishop's finger ring.

Among the numerous inscribed stones are those to Bishop Chedworth, d. 1271; Hugh de Wells, d. 1235; Bishop Holbeck, d. 1551; Henry of Huntingdon, the chronicler, who died in 1149, and Matthew Paris, the historian, who died in 1259.

Lincoln Cathedral was also rich in sepulchral brasses, but

these were torn up by the Parliamentary soldiers in 1644 and made into bullets. A mitre and a shield of the date 1494, taken from the tomb of Bishop John Russell, fortunately preserved in the Library, and recently refixed on the south side of the tomb, are the sole remnants of the vast number of brasses in which Lincoln Minster was probably the richest church in England. In his survey of England in 1718 Brown Willis states that he counted about 207 slabs from which brasses had been torn. Many of these, with their matrices, still remain.

CHAPTER VI

THE MINSTER BELLS

THE Bell, affectionately known as Great Tom of Lincoln, sounds from the Minster Tower to-day as it did in the days of old; the deep and solemn tone calls some to their duties and others to rest, and awakens in all the consciousness that Time is passing.

But the note we hear to-day is sounded from the third great bell to bear the name, though in its substance is contained the metal of its two great predecessors. The first of these appears to have occupied the north-west tower, but when or whence it came, no one seems to know. Some suggest that it may have been one of the two 'large and sonorous bells' given by Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of King Henry II, and the unconsecrated Bishop of Lincoln from 1173 to 1183.

Early records of these far-off days tell also of other bells heard from the Minster on the Hill. In 1311 we read that two bells were hung in the new Central Tower, subsequently four more were added and this peal of six 'Lady Bells' of 'very sweet and silvery tone' was usually rung for the Cathedral services.

Later on another set of eight bells, bearing dates from 1598 onward, occupied the south-west tower, but in 1912 six of these being recast with additional metal, eight heavier bells were made and named after former Bishops—Alexander, Wordsworth, Sanderson, Burghersh, Sutton, Grosseteste, Hugh and Remigius.

In 1927 four more were added to these, two being the gift of the Diocesan Guild of Bell Ringers, as memorials to the ringers who fell in the Great War, and two being presented by an anonymous American friend. One of

these bears a cross and the following inscription :

BRITANNIA—COLUMBIA
VNA VOCE; VNO ANIMO!

1927.

With one voice and one mind!

The seventh and tenor bells of the original set, dated respectively 1606 and 1593, were, however, retained as 'Service Bells.'

During the restoration of the tower in 1930, this peal of twelve bells was lowered fifty feet from the original position, thus making a great improvement in the transmission of sound. The upper part of the tower, too, was constructed with an open lantern roof, and the lower louvers closed, so that the bells are now heard distinctly eight miles away, though the sound is not too loud near the Minster itself. This unique feature adds weight to the claim that this bell tower is the finest in the country.

The first Great Tom occupied the north-west tower until 1610. Its weight was 78 cwt. 7 lb., but at that time a heavier bell was desired, so Great Tom was melted down with additional metal in a temporary foundry erected in the Minster yard.

Thus the second Great Tom was cast. In the process, its weight increased to 4 tons 8 cwt. and Camden says, 'its capacity is gaged to hold 424 gallons of ale measure.' Round the crown ran the following inscription: 'Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedens suaviter sonans ad salutem, Anno Domini 1610.'

Great Tom then occupied the Central Tower where for over two centuries it played its part; and at the great peace rejoicings in October 1801, we are told, this bell was rung by twenty-four old ladies. The following year, however, began another phase in the history of Great Tom, for it was then realized that the vibrations caused by ringing this bell were a danger to the building, so from that date it ceased to

be rung. The silence continued, but by 1827 it was observed that Great Tom had developed a crack. Consequently its fate was decided upon, and in 1835 this bell was once again melted down, this time in London, and accompanied by the six 'Lady Bells.'

Thus the third Great Tom was made, and in this process its weight was further increased and its note changed from B to A. Eight horses brought it back from London and it was again hung in the Rood Tower which it still occupies. In size, Great Tom of Lincoln is surpassed only by the big bell of S. Paul's, that of Exeter Cathedral, and Great Tom of Oxford. Its height measures six feet, its diameter six feet ten and a half inches, its circumference twenty-one and a half feet, and its weight is 5 tons 8 cwt.

In the Central Tower there are also four other bells. Two of these were cast in 1834 and recast in 1880, when the other two were new; the four forming a set of Quarter Jacks on which the clock strikes the Cambridge quarters.

In 1928 the two old 'Service Bells' were transferred to the north-west tower, which had been vacant since the removal of Great Tom in 1610. One of these still rings the Curfew each evening at eight o'clock when a number of strokes is given, followed by a definite pause, then the day of the month is announced, the total of the strokes always being one hundred and one. The Curfew has thus been rung from the Minster for centuries, and Lincoln is one of the few places where the old time custom has always been maintained.

There is also a tradition of bell ringing at the Minster at the hours of 9 a.m. and 3 p.m., very probably coming down from the days when the Canons were called together at these times for Terce and None; these were two of the short offices recited at different times of the day and were often called the 'Little Hours.' Until recently 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. were the times of Matins and Evensong, so most people used to take the bell as an hour's warning for the service.

During the War Great Tom was sounded three times three at noon as a summons to prayer, but after the War it was discontinued as though its reminder were no longer needed. One wonders whether perhaps the opportunity might not have been taken to unite these two customs—ancient and modern—and establish a regular Angelus at the canonical hours of 6 a.m. 12 noon, and 6 p.m.

Parochial churches in the City have made this old custom familiar and we may look to the day when it will be revived in the glorious Church of Our Lady herself—the crown of our hill—to bring to our minds the tidings of the Angel Gabriel, the response of Our Lady and the Incarnation of Our Lord.

CHAPTER VII

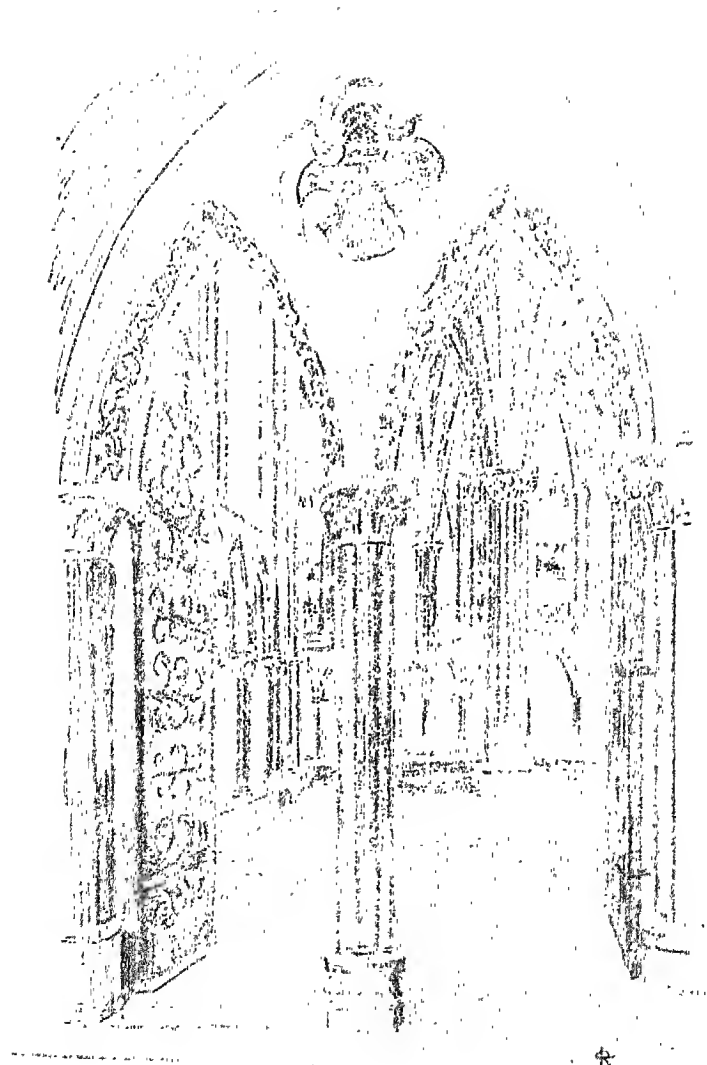
THE CLOISTERS, LIBRARY, AND CHAPTER HOUSE

A WALK through the quiet Cloisters, enclosing the green garth, takes one away from the noise of traffic and the bustle of the city below, to a silence broken only by the song of the birds high up on the towers, or down among the simple graves where rest the bodies of Bishop King, Dean Butler, and other dignitaries of the Minster.

The Cloisters are reached by a short vaulted passage, or vestibule, from the north-east transept, where may be seen the gravestones of Elizabeth Penrose (Mrs. Markham) whose English history was known to children of sixty years ago, and of Richard Gainsborough, who was one of the sculptors of the Eleanor Crosses, the master-builder, the designer and architect of the Angel Choir of this Minster.

These Cloisters were built at the end of the thirteenth century by Bishop Oliver Sutton and are very fine work of the early Decorated period. The north walk has architecture of a different style, for, in the seventeenth century, the original northern wall collapsed under the heavy roof of lead, and in 1674 the present classical structure, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, was erected in the Palladian style. Over this arcade of arches supported by eight Doric columns, is built the Cathedral Library.

The wooden vaulting of these Cloisters retains much of the original work, a distinctive beauty being found in the design and execution of the oak bosses. These are fixed at the junction of the light wooden groining, and though much weathered and mutilated they are considered to be among the most artistic work in the Cathedral. By a series of characteristic scenes and occupations they origin-



THE CHAPTER HOUSE

To face page 124

ally represented a complete set of the months of the year. October is represented by a man felling trees, November by a farmer sowing corn, and December by an old man in the act of killing a pig. Scriptural scenes are also illustrated. One boss represents the Holy Mother and Child with a dove, another the enthronement of the Blessed Virgin, and another Our Lord giving His blessing.

The windows of the Cloisters are large and are also handsome examples of early Decorated work. For some time they were blocked up, but recently they have been restored.

In the north-east corner of the Cloisters will be noticed a collection of fragments of masonry. Many of the stones bear witness to the Roman occupation of the City; some also belong to later periods, and others preserved here formerly ornamented the Minster.

The old staircase nearby leads from the Cloisters to the Cathedral Library, built over the northern walk. The Library occupies two rooms, a large one designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and a smaller one which has a longer history.

This small room, with its very fine roof adorned with carvings of fifteenth-century workmanship, is a portion of a library built about 1422, over the eastern arcade of the Cloisters, which, in 1609, was almost destroyed by fire. Apparently part of the damaged building was restored, and this is now used as a museum where old documents of much value are preserved. Perhaps the most precious in the collection are three early charters; the Charter of William I allowing Remigius to transfer his seat from Dorchester to Lincoln, bearing the date 1073; one of the four existing original copies of Magna Carta, and the Charter of Edward I permitting the Dean and Chapter to build a wall round the Cathedral Close 'to keep out evil doers by night.'

The fine doorway on the west side of this room leads into the large room designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and built

by the munificence of Dean Michael Honeywood. This Royalist Dean, we are told, collected a number of valuable books while an exile in Holland, and afterwards presented them to the Library where they are still preserved.

This long room has eleven windows on the south side, and is furnished with book-shelves along the whole length of the north wall. Down the middle stand old bookcases preserved from the fifteenth-century library, these, following the style of that age, are provided with sloping shelves to which the books were chained while being used by the reader. In this room are some eight thousand books and manuscripts, many of which are rare and of great value. Two hundred and forty-seven manuscripts, dating from the eleventh century, include one of the Bible written in the eleventh century, volumes of Radulf Niger's works, Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, and a twelfth-century manuscript of the Vulgate, beautifully illustrated. There are also one hundred books printed before 1500 including two of Caxton's works, though most of these early volumes are from the presses of foreign countries. The earliest is a volume of tracts and letters by S. Jerome, printed at Rome in 1468.

The Chapter House, a beautiful building on the eastern side of the Cloisters, has a history which takes us back to 1220. It is the earliest of the English Polygonal Chapter Houses, and possesses a dignity peculiar to itself. Its ten sides pierced by tall coupled lancet windows, are supported at the angles by vertical buttresses with arched panelling; two of the buttresses terminate in a gable, and each of the others in a decorated pinnacle. These buttresses are in turn supported by great flying buttresses of enormous strength and of a later date.

In 1931 two of these were damaged by an earthquake, and during the restoration in the following year, they were found to be unsafe owing to their having no foundations, therefore a bed of concrete was laid down to make the structure secure.

The Chapter House is approached from the east walk of the Cloisters by a vaulted vestibule of two bays of the Decorated Period, and entered through a fine doorway. The broad arch of several mouldings, including two carved in the dog-tooth pattern, is supported on either side by four pillars of marble round a central column which is also decorated with dog-tooth carving. This arch embraces two smaller ones similarly decorated and separated by a pillar of four clustered marble shafts with undercut foliage capitals. Above the arch runs an arcading from which rises the central gable pierced by a circular window. The twin doors were the gift of Bishop Edward King, whose coat of arms (sable, a lion rampant between three cross crosslets or) may be seen in the glass which fills the quatrefoil in the tympanum of the doorway.

The most striking feature of the interior of the Chapter House is the Central Pier formed by the hexagonal shafts banded midway, and terminating in foliated capitals; this pier supports the vaulted roof which is raised forty-two feet above the pavement. Vaulting ribs spread outwards from the pier to meet those from the lateral vaulting shafts placed in the angles of the walls. The bracket on the east side of the column was probably intended originally to bear the figure of the Holy Virgin.

Each of the ten bays is pierced by two large lancet windows containing rich modern glass illustrating events in the history of the Cathedral, and forming memorials to various Cathedral dignitaries.

This famous Chapter House of Lincoln is a building of the greatest interest historically. The bishop's chair, a facsimile of the coronation chair at Scone, retains much of its original work, though the canopy was added in the nineteenth century; it may have been the royal chair made for one of the kings who held a parliament in this building, for on several occasions Parliament met here before the members had their fixed place of assembly at Westminster.

During the reigns of Edward I and his two successors, Parliament frequently made this Chapter House its meeting place. It was in this building that Edward I held his famous Parliament in 1301 when the Charters were confirmed. It was here, too, in 1310 that the Knights Templars were brought for their trial before Bishop D'Alderby on a charge of idolatry, and their Order suppressed. Again in 1536 it was in this famous Chapter House that the instigators of the Lincolnshire Insurrection, supported by a force of 60,000 men, assembled to decide upon their plans of opposition against Henry VIII and his policy in suppressing and confiscating the Religious Houses throughout the country. Moreover, it was in this historic building that the royal letter was received, recalling the 'rude commons' of the 'brute and beastly shire' of Lincoln to their allegiance.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BISHOP'S PALACE

THE Bishop's Palace shares with the Cathedral the peculiar charm due to its position on the slope of the steep hill overlooking the city.

The Palace, as we see it to-day, is in part modern, dating from the time of Bishop Edward King (1885-1910), and in part ancient, as it incorporates the remains of a former palace which was probably begun in 1155 by Robert de Chesney, the fourth Bishop of Lincoln; hence its name, the 'Old Palace.'

Unfortunately no records exist which tell us about the residence of the first Bishop, Remigius, who came to England with William the Conqueror, and who transferred his seat from the small town of Dorchester, Oxon., to Lincoln, at that time one of the most populous and notable places in England, but, according to old manuscripts, it seems possible that Bishop Bloet, who succeeded Remigius, resided in the little manor of Westgate or Willingthorpe, situated on the western side of the castle. To Bishop Bloet, we learn, Henry I gave permission to make a gate in the wall of the King's Castle in order that he might have a direct road to his residence, and the gateway made by him is now considered to be the still existing sallyport of the castle.

Though there has been some doubt about the date when the building of the Old Palace was commenced, it is known that it was not until the reign of Stephen that even a site was granted to a Bishop on which he could build an episcopal residence. The third Prelate, Alexander the Magnificent, who repaired the Cathedral after the fire, and who built so many castles in various parts of the diocese, may also have included among his many building schemes the

erection of an episcopal palace, and to him King Henry I granted land for the site which included the East Gate with the Tower to be used as a lodging for himself. A later Charter, however, issued from Rouen by King Stephen, granted to him a specified portion of land extending from S. Michael's Church to the city wall, on which to build his residence. Later documents tell us that several Bishops in succession were concerned in, and contributed towards, the erection of this Old Palace.

Evidently Alexander did not begin the work, for the actual building of the Palace is believed to have been commenced by his successor, Bishop Robert de Chesney, 1147-1167, to whom in 1155 Henry II gave the land on which to build. This portion was clearly defined; the grounds being bounded by the city wall, by the Church of S. Michael, by the cemetery of the Church of S. Andrew, and by the wall of the Bailey. The king also allowed him to make a gateway in the city wall to provide a direct way to his Church; this probably formed the main entrance way to the Palace and no doubt would be provided with a gatehouse capable of defence. Its position is said to have been opposite the Galilee Porch and to coincide with that occupied by the small head of the blocked-up gateway seen in the south side of the present wall of the Palace. This arch, however, shows a greater resemblance to Roman work than to Norman. The absence of a keystone, the fashion of the masonry, and the large portion of the gateway which through the centuries has become buried in the earth, suggest that this arch may have been built possibly a thousand years before the time of Bishop Chesney. In support of this suggestion, we may note that the arch, which is approached by a mound, is constructed in the wall believed by authorities to be part of the first city wall of Lindum Colonia.

Though the Papal Bull of 1163 indicates that Robert de Chesney began to build the Palace, apparently he was

unable to complete it, for in 1185, when Hugh of Avalon came to Lincoln, much remained unfinished. The work, however, was continued, and John Schalby, Canon of Lincoln, who died in 1333, tells us that the foundations of the great hall were laid by this Bishop, though S. Hugh was really more interested in the reconstruction of the famous Choir of his Minster, than in building his own Palace. Moreover, his residence was at Stow Park, twelve miles from Lincoln, where, amid the beauty and peace of nature, his favourite swan was his constant companion.

These circumstances prevented any great progress being made in the building of the Palace during S. Hugh's lifetime, but, after his death in 1200, succeeding bishops carried on the work with increasing magnificence. Hugh de Wells completed the great hall, and built a kitchen 'at a great cost,' and for this Henry III directed the Mayor to allow Bishop Hugh to take stones from the ditch of the City for building his house. He also built a palace at Buckden in Huntingdonshire, where a residence was needed owing to the extent of the diocese.

Bishop Grosseteste, famous as a fearless reformer within the Church, appears to have contributed little to the building, though he added materially to the palace at Buckden, where he died in 1253. More additions and improvements were made by Henry de Burghersh, the King's Chancellor, who, in 1329, obtained a licence from the king to fortify the palace with turrets and battlements, which were a necessary protection in that lawless age. The next year he was permitted to enlarge and extend the buildings, and to make a new gateway towards the east on level ground.

But it was during the episcopate of William Alnwick (1436-1449), that the palace attained its greatest magnificence. The fine gate-tower, erected at the north-east corner, was part of his work; this still remains, and is known by his name. He also built a chapel dedicated to Our

Lady; a portion of this is still to be seen behind the present stables. He added a large bay window on the west side of the hall, and filled other windows with painted glass. Under the chapel he constructed a dining-room, pantries with vaulted roofs, and cellars connected with these by winding stairways. Further improvements were made by Bishop William Smith, one of the founders of Brasenose College, Oxford, who died in 1514, and whose coat of arms may still be seen on the outer gate between the Vicars' Court and the Cantilupe Chantry.

At this time the Diocese of Lincoln was the largest in England, and the powerful prelates of this See exercised authority over an area extending from the Humber to the Thames. Consequently several episcopal residences were necessary, and we find these at Lincoln, Newark, Liddington, Nettleham, Stow Park, Buckden, Sleaford, Banbury and Wooburn.

The Bishop's Palace, like the Bail or liberty of the castle, and the Close or liberty of the cathedral, was exempt from municipal jurisdiction; being extra parochial, it has therefore enjoyed freedom from local taxation and interference.

But in the sixteenth century the time came when the beautiful palace at Lincoln, on which such care had been bestowed, was soon to be destroyed. John Longland (1521-1547) was the last Prelate before the Reformation, and the last to maintain the magnificent style of living of the former bishops of Lincoln; but he lived to see his cathedral plundered in 1536, and after his death in 1547, the glories of the palace began to wane. His successor, Henry Holbech, was compelled to surrender the episcopal estates, and accept tithes in lieu of lands, but as these were quite inadequate to maintain the palace, he had to retire to the smaller house at Nettleham, where he died in 1551.

From this time the palace at Lincoln ceased to be an episcopal residence, and was left desolate. Buckden then became the chief residence of the bishops, but later on, in

June 1617, Lincoln Palace was in a sufficiently good state of repair for the reception of James I, when he was entertained to dinner by Bishop Neile.

In 1621 Dr. John Williams, Keeper of the Great Seal, became Bishop of Lincoln. He began to make great preparations for the restoration of the palace, but eventually he was involved in ecclesiastical and civil troubles, and his work of reconstruction ceased. The great hall supported by massive buttresses was still standing in the time of Gervase Holles, 1640, though the palace was vacant until 1643, when, during the struggles between the Cavaliers and Roundheads, it was used as a temporary prison, while the castle, from which the prisoners had been transferred, was fortified. The following year, when the city and castle were stormed by the forces under the Earl of Manchester, the palace also was raided; the lead was stripped from the roof, to be melted into bullets, and the beautiful painted glass in the windows was destroyed. The fabric of the palace, however, does not seem to have been materially damaged, for in the survey of 1647, made by the three trustees appointed by the Long Parliament, we read: 'The Greate Hall is very faire, large, lightsome, and of stronge freestone buildinge, in good repaire,' and the description which they give makes us realize something of the magnificence of the original palace. The plan of the whole building was quite simple, for it formed an oblong, running north and south, and had a high-pitched timbered roof, covered with lead. To the north was the great hall, measuring fifty-eight feet from east to west, and eighty-five feet from north to south, in structure resembling the nave of a church. Two rows of Purbeck marble pillars supported the arches of freestone and the timbered roof. The upper portions of the windows were filled with stained glass, and the walls were hung with tapestry. The main entrance way was at the south-west corner, through a porch of two storeys.

To the south of the great hall were the butteries, the three entrances to which may still be seen; above these was the Bishop's Solar, or bed-sitting room, from which he had a magnificent view of the city below; beneath the butteries was a wine and beer cellar, still well preserved. . South of the butteries extended the great kitchen in which were five fireplaces with conical chimneys; the leaden roof terminated in the form of an octagonal pyramid. Below the kitchen was an undercroft. In the north-east corner of the Great Hall were two doors which opened to the Alnwick Tower; the smaller one led to the foot of the staircase, the larger one to the vestibule opening to an arched passage leading to the 'very faire' chapel with 'seates and many other conveniences,' and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Under the chapel was a private dining-room with pantries and cellars adjoining.

To the east of the Great Hall across a narrow court was a range of buildings comprising the Little Hall which opened into a large dining-room with a kitchen, and a study beyond. Under these buildings were large vaults with stone barrel roofs. The larger one, with a well at the upper end, probably used as a brew-house, is still preserved. All these lower buildings show an early style of architecture and are very massive.

The design and construction of all the buildings indicate that the greatest consideration was paid to convenience; the fortress-like walls and arches are supported by buttresses of enormous strength, while the mouldings and ornamentation are most elegant. There appear to be no traces of private chambers. The Solar was apparently the Bishop's private room, which he probably occupied with his chaplain, the household sleeping in the great hall, and the domestic staff in the butteries and kitchen. When complete, this palace at Lincoln was one of the most magnificent buildings in our country, and many kings and distinguished persons were entertained here by the bishops. In 1541 Henry VIII

stayed here with his young bride Catherine Howard, when on his journey to York, and her long interview with Thomas Culpepper, a courtier and relative, lent colour to one of the charges brought against her, which led to her execution.

During Monkton's Raid of 1648, the palace was again attacked, set on fire, and seriously damaged. Apparently no attempt was made to restore the building as a palace, for when Robert Sanderson became bishop in 1660, the chapel and tower had been transformed into a dwelling-house, only the walls of the hall remained, and the whole building was a piteous ruin. Sanderson, at his own cost, repaired the palace at Buckden, and this served as the episcopal residence for nearly two hundred years.

Some very interesting and strange stories are told of a series of remarkable misfortunes which befell the spoilers of the palace. A letter dated November 22nd, 1671, written by W. Walter, priest of Lincoln, and addressed to Bishop Fuller, states that Philip Clarke, a labourer who carried off lead from the roof, fell over a wall as he went down hill, and broke his neck. John Peachy, the plumber, who cast the lead into 'Piggs,' also met with a disastrous end, for he slipped into the melting-pot, and was scalded to death. Mr. Tooley of Boston, who was conveying the lead to Amsterdam, was no more fortunate, for the letter states that he sank, with the booty, when within sight of the harbour. Another man, named Whitchlote, who took stones from the palace to build a house for himself, came to an untimely end, for both he and his son died before the house was six feet high; while Colonel Berry, who turned the chapel into a kitchen, was sent as prisoner to Scarborough Castle.

But the palace was not even allowed to remain a picturesque ruin, for in 1726 it passed through another phase of destruction. By permission of Bishop Richard Reynolds, the ruins were used for three years as a quarry, and the stones were used for the restoration of the Minster. Eventually,

in 1727 all that remained of the buildings was let on a lease for twenty-one years to Edward Nelthorpe, a doctor of medicine. This transaction fortunately proved to be the saving of what was left of the original palace, for Nelthorpe made extensive alterations, and restored a portion of the building as a residence for the bishops on their visitations.

A succeeding tenant, Charles Mainwaring, also repaired the outer parts of the buildings, cleared the vaults, and built stables and coach-houses in the courtyard. The three medieval corbel heads supporting the arches of the coach-house are interesting ornaments to the building. That on the north represents a Scotsman with bagpipes, that on the south an Irishman squeezing a pig as an effective opponent, while the centre figure represents John Bull with hands over his ears evidently unable to tolerate either of the entertainers.

Later on, however, during the episcopate of Bishop Kaye (1827-53), Riseholme Hall, two miles only from Lincoln, was presented by Trollope, the Suffragan Bishop, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and in 1844 this became the episcopal residence, Buckden Palace being sold. Bishop Jackson, afterwards Bishop of London, and his successor, Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, also lived here, but when Edward King became bishop in 1885, it was decided to sell Riseholme Hall, and to erect the present building in the grounds of the ancient palace, and in a style in keeping with the architecture of the ruins.

Consequently the house built on the west side of the courtyard was raised one storey, and the new residence was erected between this and the walls of the Great Hall on the east side, and on the site formerly occupied by a range of buildings called the 'Officers' Lodgings.' The butteries and the Solar above were converted into a private Chapel. The east and west walls were rebuilt, and the panelled roof is now supported by stone arches which rise from the old corbels and springers.

During the building of this new palace, a subterranean chamber was discovered which is thought to be a good example of a medieval latrine. It is built beneath the wall dividing the Old Palace from the Vicars' Court, and from it a passage four feet in width runs eastwards.

The beautiful three-storeyed Alnwick Tower with its fine oriel windows, was restored in 1878 by Bishop Wordsworth, for the use of the students of the theological college—the 'Scholæ Cancellarii,' and now serves as the Muniment Room for the Diocese, and as an office for the Bishop's legal secretary.

Since the time of Bishop Edward King the privilege of walking in these grounds and of rambling among the ruins has frequently been extended to the public, not only to citizens of Lincoln, but also to members of church guilds and societies, as well as to pilgrims to the City.

Thus, after the lapse of more than two hundred years, the Bishops of Lincoln dwell once again in the shadow of the Minster, and the picturesque ruins, now so precious, still witness to the importance of the See of Lincoln and this old world City.

CHAPTER IX

THE CLOSE

THE precincts of the Cathedral originally included only the south-east quarter of the old Roman city, but this area has been enlarged and the boundaries changed at various times.

An eastern extension was made in 1256 when the eastern wall of the Roman city was removed to clear the site for the erection of the Angel Choir of the Minster. In this age, robberies were frequent, and as the Close was undefended, Bishop Sutton persuaded Edward I to allow a wall to be built to protect the clergy against the robbers who haunted the precincts by night. Later on in 1318 a Charter granted by Edward II allowed the Dean and Chapter to build a wall with turrets and gates as a protection 'against the inroads of nocturnal thieves and other evil-doers, causing frequent manslaughter.'

Consequently the Close was surrounded by a battlemented wall, and provided with gatehouses opening on to the principal streets. This wall enclosed the Cathedral and the residences of the cathedral clergy, but many of the original houses were ruined or despoiled in the attack on the Close by the forces under the Earl of Manchester in 1644. Some remains of these, however, have been preserved, and the ruins of others are incorporated in new buildings.

The *Precentory* distinguished by its straight parapet and projecting windows, adjoins the Exchequer Gate on the south, and commands a fine view of the city below and the country beyond. The original building was greatly damaged by the Parliamentary forces, but was partly rebuilt after the Restoration, and in 1879 was much improved by Precentor Venables. Various Roman remains have been

discovered in the grounds. In 1739 a Roman hypocaust covered with a pavement was brought to light, and stone coffins of great interest were also preserved.

The *Sub-Deanery* with its battlemented parapet and Tudor windows stands near the Precentory. The projecting window of three lights is a very distinctive feature.

The *Vicars' Court* also on the south side of the Close was built in the time of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1300, as the residence for twenty vicars-choral. This quadrangle formed by the houses of the priest-vicars, is entered by the groined gateway of a beautiful gatehouse. The southern house has fine Decorated windows, and is supported by two massive and well-preserved buttresses. The kitchens and granary, now converted into stables, were built on the eastern side. There is much Perpendicular work in these buildings and the eastern gable still bears the shield of Bishop Alnwick, 1436-1447.

The *Cantilupe Chantry House* stands next to the Sub-Deanery; it was built for the priests of the Chantry founded by the widow of Nicholas, Lord Cantilupe, who died in 1355. It is now converted into a dwelling-house, but it still retains many of its original features. The north gable is pierced with a peculiar square oriel window, and in the little niche above is the figure of Our Lord wearing the crown of thorns.

The *Chancery* stands on the eastern side of the Close. It was built by Bishop Anthony Bek about 1316 and has been the residence of the Chancellor of the Cathedral since that time. It has a fine archway and oriel windows which were added by Bishop Russell in 1490. Two towers, part of the medieval fortification of the Close, may be seen in the Chancery gardens. The little Chapel, furnished by Chancellor Benson, is still in daily use.

The *Choristers' House*, with a gable bearing the date 1616, adjoins the Chancery. Though it was much damaged by the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War, it was afterwards

rebuilt. In the garden a portion of the old crenellated wall of the Close is still well preserved.

The *Deanery*, built in 1847 on the north side of the Close, occupies the site of a much finer building erected about the year 1190 when S. Hugh was Bishop of Lincoln. This old deanery, too, suffered in the Civil War, and was described in the survey of the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1649 as being in a ruinous state and only worth £8 per annum, although it occupied one acre of ground.

The residence enclosed a quadrangular court and the buildings were of various styles and ages. The Hall with a roof of lead stood on the north side of the court along with the kitchen, buttery, and other buildings. All these were demolished, but later in 1660 were rebuilt.

The southern entrance way and tower have been ascribed to Cardinal Wolsey who occupied the Deanery in 1514, but the actual builder was Bishop Flemyng who also made many additions on the north side. In 1847 most of the building was pulled down, only the ancient wall which has a blocked window ornamented with dog-tooth carving was allowed to remain. The present house which bears a close resemblance to the original Deanery was then erected to the east of the old building.

In the gable is the little stone lantern preserved from the Works Chantry, and over the door the carved figure represents the crowned Virgin and Holy Child.

The *Works Chantry* formerly stood west of the Deanery and was the residence of the four Chantry priests who said Mass daily in the Chapel of S. Anne or the Founders' Chapel, for the souls of the benefactors of the Fabric. This building, which was the chancery before 1320, was removed in 1828, its site being now occupied by the Deanery kitchen gardens.

The house known by the misleading name 'The Priory' dates from the thirteenth century and preserves many architectural features of that time.

The building, known as *The Rest*, erected in 1898 by Mr. Shuttleworth, stands on the site of the popular tuck-shop of the Cathedral Choir School.

Two houses, No. 4 and No. 5 Pottergate, have also a long history, and No. 4 still retains an original oriel window. They became the residence of the Pownall family, well known in Lincolnshire, and having interests in America—where one member was the Governor of New Jersey in 1763.

Atherstone Place, with its fine Norman doorway, stands opposite the Deanery. This was the residence of Francis Ayscough, the brother of Anne Ayscough, who, on account of her religious zeal, was burnt at the stake at Smithfield in 1546.

The *Burghersh Chantry House* built in the Decorated period in James Street, was the residence of the five priests of the Chantry Chapel, founded by the powerful Burghersh family, in the Retro Choir of the Cathedral. Part of the original house remains, and the mullioned windows of the refectory are well preserved.

Deloraine Court was also a residence for priests until the reign of Henry VIII. Changes then were swift and decisive, but since that time it has been occupied by many distinguished families.

CHAPTER X

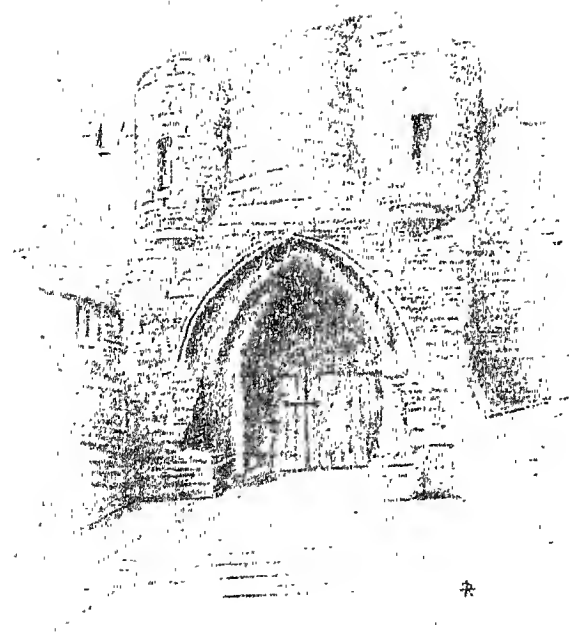
LINCOLN CASTLE

LINCOLN Castle stood on an ideal site from the point of view of the Norman castle builder, occupying as it did the crest of a steep slope with the River Witham flowing 200 feet below. This lofty position enabled it to overawe the people in the lower part of the City and to dominate the surrounding country.

It is thought by some authorities that this site was inhabited in very early times, for traces still exist of pre-Norman earthworks showing that the mound on which the castle is built, may have been previously occupied by Britons and Romans for strategic purposes. What had been won by force must needs be held by force, and in the early Norman times, the conquered who had escaped the sword were only kept in subjection by strong castles well equipped with every known means of defence. It was on this principle that William the Conqueror acted.

The ruins which we see to-day are for the most part those of the original castle which was one of the eight built by him in key positions to overawe the surrounding country. Apparently he lost no time in making secure the land he had gained, for immediately after the Conquest in 1067, while on his way from York to Cambridge, William I converted this ancient fortress into a Norman stronghold. We are told in Domesday Book that 166 Burghers' houses were demolished to make way for this great watch tower which was quickly raised by the command of the fearless Conqueror, and occupied one quarter of the Roman city.

Consequently this great monument which now is part of our heritage from the past, stands to remind us of the harshness and severity of the Norman rule over our Saxon



THE CASTLE GATE

To face page 192

forefathers, of the band of great churchmen, Remigius, Lanfranc, Anselm, and other statesmanlike and pious leaders, who came to England with William I and our Norman kings, of the words which enriched our language for all time, of the order and unity which came to our land, and of the Norman blood that still flows in our veins.

“ For Saxon, or Dane, or Norman we,
Teuton or Celt or whatever we be.”

All William's castles appear to have been built on much the same plan. A bailey, or enclosed space, was defended by earthworks supporting a high wall, and a lofty mound surmounted by a tower or keep was raised in line with the walls and overlooked these outer defences.

It was on this plan that the Castle of Lincoln was built. The earthworks of the bailey were thrown up over the existing Roman walls on the southern and western sides, and the remaining three parts of the Roman city, not enclosed in the bailey, became the outer bailey, or 'The Bail' as it is still known. This outer portion was already enclosed by the Roman city wall with gates, and was connected with the castle for the purposes of defence and was within the jurisdiction of the Constable of the Castle. Afterwards the Close was taken out of the Bail.

Lincoln Castle was spacious and solid in construction, and, from its bold and commanding situation, must have been a place of enormous strength, practically impregnable to the medieval methods of attack.

To-day the Castle grounds and ruins are approached from Castle Hill, west of the Minster. The preserved enclosing walls, chiefly of Norman work, vary from twenty to thirty feet in height and from eight to ten feet in thickness, and surround an irregular quadrangle of nearly seven acres. The vast mounds, or bulwarks, on which the walls are raised, range from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in width, and from fifteen to twenty feet in height.

These were further defended by a wide and deep moat, much of which may still be traced, but the south wall, built along the steep slope of the hill, did not need this defence. At various periods parts of the walls have been restored; but the original masonry may be seen in the large unhewn stones, so well grouted with good mortar that they present a solid and formidable front, though their irregularity suggests that probably they were built in haste and by forced labour. In places in the northern and western walls they are faced with 'herring bone' work, that is, stones placed obliquely, and resting on an under layer of masonry laid on stout frames of rough timber. This is an interesting feature, for the style was extensively used by the Romans and Saxons, and followed by the Normans; but the Normans used these oblique stones only as facings in their work, whereas the Romans carried this method throughout the structure, as may be seen in the old city walls.

Within these earthworks and walls are two detached mounds. The one in the south-east angle which is conical in form, and forty feet high, supports the Observatory Tower; the other, in the south-west angle, is the Keep mound. This is of the same height but much larger, and both, it is believed, may be of British origin.

The Eastern Gate, approached from Castle Hill, is now the only entrance to the Castle. This is chiefly Norman work but it shows two stages in construction. The lower storey, with the semicircular arch over the gate, is the original rough Norman work, built with thick blocks of stone set with coarse mortar and wide joints. The upper storey, which formerly reached twenty feet higher, though of a later date, is now an ivy-covered ruin. This portion contains the pointed arch, the remains of the angular tower, and the two circular turrets in which are built spiral staircases leading to the battlements.

The Barbican, with the drawbridge, was built east of this gate. This work of defence also had two round towers;

the foundation of one still remains in a cellar on the south side of the road, though the whole structure, being then in a ruinous condition, was removed in 1791 by permission of the Duchy of Lancaster, to give, as it was thought, a better approach to the Castle.

Within the forecourt, on the north side of the passage, an oriel window is inserted, showing great richness of detail, and dates from the early fifteenth century. Formerly it was in the Palace of John of Gaunt in the lower part of the City, but it was rescued from its ruined surroundings by Earl Brownlow, Lord Lieutenant, and brought to the Castle in 1849.

Here, too, is a fragment of one of the statues from the Eleanor Cross which marked the first resting place of the body of Queen Eleanor, who died at Harby in 1290, and was conveyed to Westminster. The memorial stood on Swine Green at the fork of the two roads from High Street and near S. Katherine's Priory.

A pile of large stones was also formerly preserved in this forecourt. These were originally used as ammunition for the catapults, and from their shape were called 'cobs.' Since it was often a temptation to visitors to take them away they are now arranged in a double row along the drive to the Assize Court.

The Western Gate, or Sallyport, is also an entrance of Norman construction, and appears to have been similar to the lower portion of the Eastern Gate. This structure is believed by some authorities to be the gate for the building of which Bishop Bloet obtained leave from Henry I, in order that he might have a way towards his residence, which was probably situated at the west of the Castle.

The Sallyport has long been walled up, but the Norman arch and angular tower above, with two small Norman windows, still remain. Originally a small square-headed door opened from this tower on to the battlements of the Barbican, part of which still exists to-day. For some time

the Sallyport was thought to occupy the same position as the West Gate of the Roman city, but in 1836 the Roman gate was excavated just west of this West Gate, from the mound which formed the north-west bulwark of the Castle.

The south side of the Castle appears to have been defended by the two isolated mounds. On the summit of the south-east mound stands the rectangular Observatory Tower, also of Norman work, though no records of the original construction remain. The existing Norman tower consists of two storeys; the lower one has a barrel vaulting and contains a mural staircase. During the fourteenth century this Norman structure was surmounted by another rectangular tower also of two storeys, and on this, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a Governor of the Castle erected a circular turret which he used as an astronomical observatory and which is to-day one of the most familiar features in the City. A staircase now leads to the top of the turret, from which one may obtain an extensive view of the City below and the country around. It is probable that in early times there was a means of communication between this tower and the chamber above the Eastern Gate, and the discovery of a spiral staircase descending below the ground floor shows another communication westwards along a subterranean passage.

All the ancient walls in this part of the Castle bear witness to the ravages of war and fire, but Lincoln Castle was never entirely destroyed, and much of the original structure still stands four square to the winds.

The Norman Keep is perhaps the most interesting feature of the Castle; it is commonly known as the Lucy Tower, the name being derived from Lucy, the mother of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, who greatly improved the fortifications when she became the hereditary Constable of the Keep. The Keep crowns the ancient mound, and stands half within and half without the castle walls. Immensely strong, and protected by its own moat, it completely

overlooked the Castle wall along the south, and also the defences below.

Originally the Keep was two storeys high, but time has seen the destruction of the upper one. The lower is a polygon in form with walls twenty feet high and eight feet thick. Formerly there were two entrances, one within and the other without the Castle; the former being now reached by a steep flight of stairs through a vaulted porch. The other doorway was directly opposite, and opened outwards towards the southern slope and moat below. It was through this exit that the Earl of Chester escaped when the Castle was besieged by Stephen. Throughout those troubled times the Keep withstood the shock of attacks, but by the time of James I it had been reduced to a shell. The inside is now exposed to the skies, and the outer walls, which have been roughly restored, have lost their mouldings and buttresses. No foundations of inner buildings have been discovered within the Keep, though probably a small court occupied the centre, since there are no loops for lights in the outer walls. In later times this exposed mound served as a burial place for prisoners, and the graves of those who died in captivity or who were executed may still be seen.

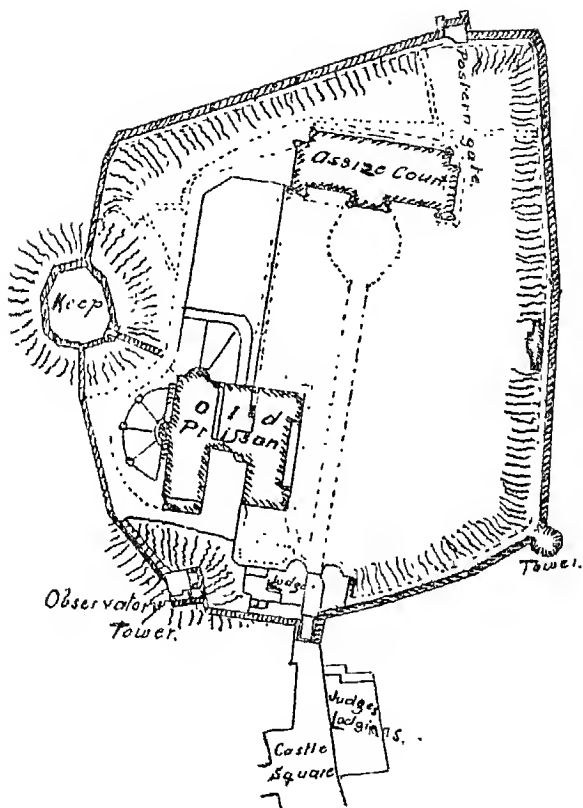
Cobb Hall, an uncommon form of tower, circular on the outside and angular on the inside, stands at the north-east angle of the Castle wall. The history of this remarkably strong tower, used in former times as a prison, takes us back to the fourteenth century when John of Gaunt, who made so many structural improvements, was the hereditary Constable of the Castle. Various theories have been suggested to account for the origin of the name of this tower. By some authorities it is thought that it may have been derived from the word 'cobbing,' a jocular name for flogging with a strap for minor offences, which punishment was administered in this tower; or more probably, from the external appearance of the tower, 'cob' meaning

'round,' like the 'cobs' shot from the catapults. In the battles between the armies of Maud and Stephen, cobs were shot by men from the top of Cobb Hall and from the parapet of the Cathedral, so this tower may have received its name in this way.

Cobb Hall contains two storeys both similar in structure, vaulted and groined with pointed arches, and lighted by narrow deeply recessed loops in the outer walls. The upper room is divided into cells, and all are furnished with strong iron rings in the walls to which the prisoners were chained. A rough ladder leads from the upper room to the dismal crypt below. This is dimly lighted by three narrow loops protected by vertical and horizontal bars. Until recent years this dungeon served as the condemned cell, and markings of crosses and designs on the walls show how some of the prisoners spent the weary hours of their last days. A deep and artistic carving accomplished in two and a half years by a prisoner, Thomas Goddard, with his finger nails, depicts a stag pierced through its neck by an arrow. The carving representing Our Lord on the Cross, in the recess of the window, was cut by another prisoner and was a task of two years.

This tower has now a flat lead-covered roof, and the modern battlements have replaced the original ones destroyed after the Civil War. They are reached by a stone staircase, and here, from 1815 until the passing of the Private Execution Act in 1868, the gallows was erected and public executions took place. Before 1815 these were held at the junction of the three roads at the west angle of the Castle still known as Hangman's Dyke.

Other more modern buildings are found in the Castle grounds. The red brick block seen on the left, after passing through the Eastern Gate, was formerly the County Prison. The front portion was built in 1787—part served as the governor's residence, and part as the debtors' prison. The back portion, built in 1846, formed the general prison.



A PLAN OF THE CASTLE

This section contains many cells and a very depressing prison chapel, all of which are now disused but are open to inspection. The dark cell No. 7 served as a place of punishment for prisoners, and the double cell, No. 12, for those who were condemned to death.

The Prison Chapel is a building of peculiar construction. The high seats with doors were so arranged that the prisoners could not see each other, yet each one was in view of the prison chaplain. The open seats at the back were reserved for those condemned to death, and the front seats, facing the communion rail, were for female prisoners. The building on the north side of the gaol is now used for the magistrates' courts of the Lindsey and Kesteven divisions of Lincolnshire.

Opposite the Eastern Gate at the further end of the Castle grounds are the County Hall and Assize Courts. This rectangular building of two storeys was erected in 1826 from the design of Sir Robert Smirke. Over the entrance is the Grand Jury Room in which are portraits of the county magistrates and other notable local persons.

The Castle is now preserved as public property, and it is much to be regretted that it is now too late for the mounds and moat also to be preserved as they should be, for their sites are much obscured, or occupied by mean buildings quite out of harmony with the noble and picturesque fortress.

THE HISTORY OF THE CASTLE

Though the origin of this ancient fortress takes us back to very early times, when this lofty hill formed one of the camps of the ancient Britons, there are really few traces of such early occupation.

Records since the Norman Conquest, however, are more reliable, and from these it is known that, from its foundation, the Castle and Bail of Lincoln were held for the Crown

by hereditary constables in accordance with the feudal tenure introduced by William the Conqueror.

The keeping of the king's gaol here was part of the feudal service of the constable, and the service exacted by the constable from the tenants on the estate, was the keeping of the castle-guard for a number of days each year.

Space does not allow of an enumeration of the particulars of the Constableness; but it is interesting to note that this office descended in 1155 by marriage to the family of Haya from the family of Colswegen, who is said to be the one great tenant-in-chief of native descent who retained his estate in Lincolnshire after the Conquest, and further, that some of the hereditary constables of the Castle were women.

The first of these female custodians was Lucy, sister of Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar, brothers-in-law of King Harold. Lucy was given in marriage to Ivo Taillebois, a Norman noble, who is described in *Hereward the Wake*, and her daughter, also called Lucy, succeeded to the position. The second Lucy, who was a great land owner, fortified the Keep, and she is the Countess Lucy from whom the Lucy Tower has derived its name. The Keep had its own moat and was self-defended, and for generations Lucy's family claimed hereditary rights. Her two sons were William de Roumare, afterwards the first Earl of Lincoln, and Ranulph, afterwards Earl of Chester, and son-in-law of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, half-brother of the Empress Matilda.

These Earls zealously supported the claims of Matilda to the throne, but fought more perhaps with an aim of gaining their own right to the Keep, thus the Castle and Keep played a prominent part in the wars of the reign of Stephen, during which time the Castle was captured and recaptured several times. In 1140 Matilda gained possession of the Castle which she fortified and stored with provisions, but being besieged by Stephen she escaped secretly and the King took possession. Ranulph claimed the hereditary Constableness of the Castle, and his right to the

Keep, but in 1153 the troubles ceased on an agreement that the Castle should be held by Gordon de Bussey as Governor, who, at the death of Stephen, should yield it up to Prince Henry, Matilda's son.

During the reign of Henry II, in 1155, the custody of the Castle and Keep descended to Richard de la Haya, at whose death it passed to his daughter Nicholaa, who married Gerard de Camville.

On the death of Gerard, in 1215, Nicholaa was well advanced in years, but at the request of King John, who had succeeded Richard I, she retained command of the Castle.

At the time of the decisive battle of 1217 Nicholaa was still Constable of the Castle, though three years later Fawkes de Breaute was appointed to assist her in its defence; in 1226 she resigned, and then the Constablership was transferred to Obert Gyffard.

Later on, the custody of the Castle descended to the Earl of Salisbury, at whose death it passed to his son, William, who was slain while on the Crusade in 1250, leaving a young daughter Margaret, known as the Countess of Salisbury. During her minority the Castle was held for her by Queen Eleanor, but later on, by her marriage to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln in 1268, the Constablership of the Castle was united with the Earldom of Lincoln. This Earl died in his London residence, since known as Lincoln's Inn, and by the marriage of his heiress Alice to Thomas Plantagenet, the Earldom of Lincoln, which included the Constablership of the Castle, became united with the Earldom of Lancaster. But this lady, leaving no issue, bequeathed all her honours and possessions to the nephew of her husband, whose daughter Blanche was given in marriage in 1359 to Prince John of Gaunt, 'time honoured Lancaster,' fourth son of Edward III. Prince John consequently, by his marriage, became Duke of Lancaster, and Earl of Leicester, Lincoln and Derby.

He carried out great schemes for the restoration and

improvement of the Castle and made it his summer residence. In 1399, the year of his death, his son Henry of Bolingbroke became King of England; thus a native of Lincolnshire ascended the throne. Onwards to modern times the Castle and Bail of Lincoln belonged to the Crown as parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster.

After the reign of Henry III the military history of the Castle seems comparatively uneventful. It was held for the king during the rising of Simon de Montfort, and was fortified in the Wars of the Roses, though it did not figure in the struggle.

From that time the Castle enclosure continued to serve as the county prison, and the assizes were held in the great hall, but its defences and buildings were neglected.

During the Civil War of the seventeenth century the prisoners were removed to the Bishop's Palace, which had been prepared for their safe keeping, and the Castle was speedily fortified by the Earl of Lincoln. The Royalists at first gained possession of this stronghold, but in May 1644 it was taken by the Parliamentary troops commanded by the Earl of Manchester.

The Castle and Bail of Lincoln, however, continued in the title of the Duchy of Lancaster until 1831, when permission was given by Act of Parliament for the sale of this ancient fortress to the magistrates of the county for £2,000.

CHAPTER XI

THE CITY GATES

LINCOLN, like some of our other ancient cities, still retains part of its old city walls and other defences. Some portions of these are well preserved, while others are crumbling and ivy-covered.

To-day, Lincoln is proud not only of her city walls, the work of Britons, Romans, and Normans, but also of her picturesque old gates which, too, were built at various periods. Newport Arch, the northern entrance way to the Roman city, has the longest history and claims to be the oldest city gate in England.

Although the Romans availed themselves of the strategic position on the cliff overlooking the gap in the limestone hills, and the wide expanse of undrained Fens which were themselves a natural protection, yet they built their customary artificial defences round the City. Even to-day we can trace the greater part of the boundary enclosing an area of 38 acres occupied by Lindum Colonia. In plan the City formed almost a square, being 1,300 feet from east to west, and 1,200 feet from north to south.

A broad and deep ditch or fosse marked the limits of the City along the north, east, and west, but the steep slope of the hill provided a natural defence along the south. The earth thrown up from the fosse formed high ramparts, which were faced on the inner sides by massive stone walls, ten to twelve feet thick, and twenty to twenty-five feet high.

Two main roads crossed in the centre of the City dividing it into four quarters. Ermine Street, the famous Roman highway from London to York, passed through the City from south to north, up the steep hill and continued in a bold direct line to the Humber. This road now lies

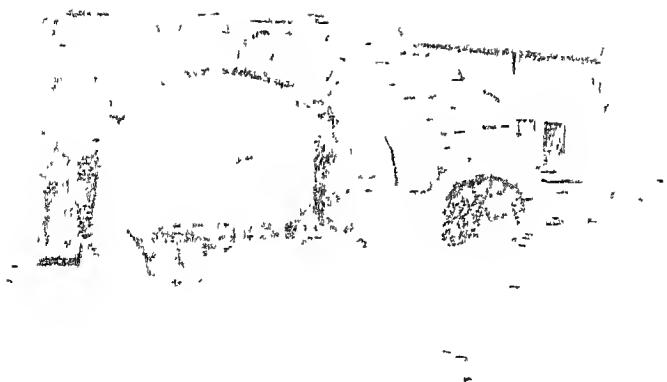
several feet below the present High Street, Steep Hill, and Bailgate. The transverse road, represented by Westgate, formerly led to Segelocum now Littleborough, and by Eastgate, which continued to Banovallum, now Horn-castle, and straight on to the coast. These present roads are considerably deflected from their original course.

The middle of each wall round the four sides of the City was pierced by a gate. These gates thus spanned the four high roads, and each was protected by strong gate-houses capable of defence by armed men.

The northern city wall reached as far as the southern boundary of the earlier British settlement, and this defence can still be traced between the waterworks, Bailgate, and Newport Arch. East of this North Gate, too, much of the old wall, well preserved, still remains.

Newport Arch—the *porta principalis sinistra*—gave entrance from the north to the noble city of Lindum Colonia. It is now a feature of unique interest being the sole remaining Roman gateway in England. The arch, supported on the northern side by two buttresses, has a span of sixteen feet, and is built of twenty-six large wedge-shaped stones, cut from the Lincoln oolite, and fitted together without a keystone and without mortar. On each side of the arch, horizontal courses or springers support the side pressure. Originally the arch was about thirty feet high, but now its height is only twenty-one and a half feet, for during the course of centuries and the periods of destruction eight feet of the masonry have become buried in the roadway. This gate also had two posterns or side arches. The western one has been demolished; the eastern one, with a span of seven and a half feet, and originally fifteen feet high, is now also buried several feet in the roadway, adding to the effect.

It is noticed, too, that Newport Arch is not in line with the remaining massive northern wall and fosse, but stands twenty feet south of these, and this position suggests the



NEWPORT ARCH

To face page 154

former existence of a second gate built in line with the wall and connected with this arch. Such an arrangement would provide a strong means of defence by a body of soldiers against attacking forces from the north.

The *Eastern Wall* of the Roman city ran along the east side of East Bight to the street called Eastgate. It then continued east of the Deanery and the Cloisters to the Cantilupe Chantry Gardens where it joined the south wall. A portion of this wall was removed when the Angel Choir was built, but much still remains, and the ditch is almost perfect for a considerable distance.

The *East Gate*—the *Porta Prætoria*—stood a little north of the street bearing this name, and appears to have been in existence until 1740, when part of its walls were incorporated in a dwelling-house. In size and structure it resembled the North Gate.

The *South Wall* ran westwards along the south of the grounds of the Bishop's Palace, part forming the southern boundary of the Sub-Deanery and Precentory Gardens. It crossed Steep Hill near the Leopard Tavern, and joined the west wall at the south-west angle of the Castle.

The *South Gate*—the *Porta Principalis Dextra*—also similar in structure to the North Gate, stood near the site of the Leopard Tavern. It was taken down about two centuries ago, though a portion of the arch remains, and part of the eastern postern is built into the adjacent house.

The *West Wall* ran due north in a line with the present castle rampart as far as the Sallyport. Its course crossed the moat and Westgate, and joined the north wall at the water tower.

The *West Gate*—the *Porta Decumana*—stood a little west of the Sallyport of the Castle. During the erection of the castle this gate apparently was buried by the Norman earthworks and was lost sight of until 1836, when it was excavated. Upon exposure it immediately collapsed, and consequently was not preserved.

Within these walls and gates, Lindum Colonia was one of the most beautiful cities in Roman Britain. In the centre stood the Roman milestone, now preserved in the City Museum, bearing the following inscription:

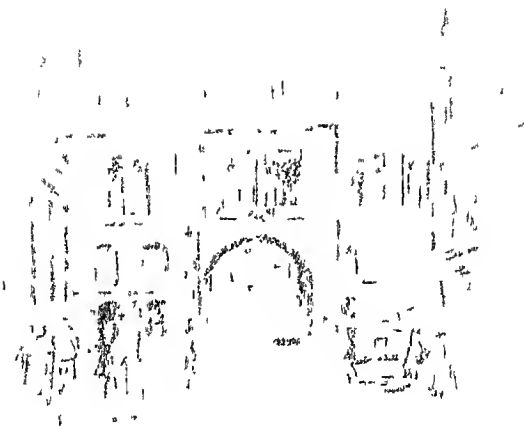
IMP . CAES
MARCO PLAVONIO
VICTORI
NO P . F . INV
AVG . PONT
MAX . TR . P . P . P .
A . L . S . M . P . XIII

which being translated runs as follows:

“In honour of the Emperor Marcus Plavonius Victorinus, the Good, the Fortunate, the Unconquered, Augustus, High Pontiff, holding the Tribunician Power, Father of his Country. From Lindum to Segelocum fourteen miles.”

The north-west quarter was occupied by the Basilica or Hall of Justice; and during excavations in Bailgate at the end of the nineteenth century, the discoveries of the bases and columns which probably supported the Colonnade of the Forum, and more recently in Broadgate, of a Roman altar with remains of Roman masonry, give some idea of the magnificence of the buildings which adorned the Roman city.

During the Roman occupation, Lincoln enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity, so that apparently the space within these walls became inadequate for the increasing number of the inhabitants. Though many of the wealthy officials built villas for themselves in the neighbourhood, it became necessary, from time to time, to extend the City boundaries on the north and south, in order to accommodate the growing number of citizens, so that finally the



7

THE STONEBOW

To face page 157

area of Lindum Colonia, was nearly doubled. The addition on the north was protected by a simple rampart and wall, and the eastern and western walls were continued towards the River Witham as far as the Lucy Tower and S. Swithin's Square.

The steep ascent for foot passengers, known as Motherby Hill, marks the western border of this second Roman city. A second wall, too, was built along the south which ran north of the present Guildhall Street and Saltergate, and in the middle of this was made another City gate. This in later times was replaced by the present picturesque gate—the Stonebow.

The *Stonebow*, the Briggate of medieval times, thus occupies the site of a former gate and barrier built across Ermine Street, the great Roman highway from the south. This structure has a distinctive old-world charm, and is a fine specimen of a fifteenth-century gatehouse in perfect condition. Its large Gothic archway, flanked by circular embattled turrets, spans the High Street, and its posterns on either side are open for foot passengers.

These three arches, together with the lower portion of the gate, began their history at the end of the fourteenth century. The upper storey, however, was built in the time of Henry VIII, and constitutes the famous Guildhall. The whole structure has many interesting details. Over the central arch of the southern front are carved the Royal Arms, and the side turrets bear niches containing beautifully carved figures. The one on the eastern turret represents the Angel Gabriel bearing a palm branch and scroll inscribed with the words 'Ave gra plena Dns tecum,' the one in the corresponding position represents the figure of the Blessed Virgin, the Patron Saint of the City.

On the northern front of the Gate are carved the Red Rose of Lancaster and the Fleur-de-lys of Lincoln.

Above the Stonebow will be noticed the small Mote Bell. The Latin inscription it bears 'Cum qvis campanam

reseret saccvn bonvs avdit et cvriam planam fore cvn scitote replavdit, tempore vvilli Beele majoris Lincolnie civitatis,' tells us that it was apparently cast during the mayoralty of William Beele in 1371, and that it was rung at the opening and close of the Law Courts, the weekly Council, instituted in the time of Edward III. To-day it is still rung to summon the members to attend the City Council meetings in the Guildhall.

The Guildhall is a long room, still retaining its original roof of timber, and is approached by an old staircase. It is used for meetings of the Council, Charity Trustees, and other public bodies, and here, following the old custom, each year on November 9th, the new Mayor is officially robed, and the City Sheriff and Under Sheriff take up their offices. The small room to the left is the inner chamber where secret councils were held, but the history and description of this old building is outlined in another chapter.

Such were the early defences of Lincoln, and the gates which opened to welcome friends or closed against foes; but there are also remains of other walls and of other gates which belong to later periods, and were built for other purposes.

After the departure of the Romans the wave of Danish invasion swept over Lincoln and it became pre-eminently a Danish city. Of this there is evidence in the numerous place names in and around its boundary, and in the number of streets called 'Gates.' The old Norse word 'Gata' means the road along which we pass, and not the entrance to it. Consequently many of the older streets in Lincoln are called 'Gates,' as Saltergate, and Flaxengate. Saltergate indicates the road in which the drysalters lived, Pottergate was the locality of the potters, Flaxengate was the street of spinners of flax, Hungate marks the position of the kennels where the hounds were kept. Micklegate was the former name of a portion of High Street, and

Danesgate was the residential quarter of the Danish population.

Lincoln continued to increase and to extend her boundaries. During the Norman occupation the movement of the population was southwards, for when the houses from much of the old Roman city were swept away to clear a site for the Castle and Cathedral, the dispossessed citizens were sent to build new homes in the lower part of the City where then more defences were necessary.

The defences and gates of the Castle have been mentioned in a preceding chapter, and we have noticed that walls with gates became necessary for the protection of the Cathedral and its precincts, since it was dangerous for priests to attend their midnight services on account of the large number of evil doers who loitered about the sacred building. Already the Cathedral Close was bounded on the east and south by the Roman wall, but permission was given by Edward I to Bishop Oliver Sutton, to enclose the Precincts with a wall twelve feet high, and to furnish it with gates which could be locked at dusk and opened at sunrise. In the following reign a further licence was granted for the walls to be raised and for the erection of as many turrets as the Dean and Chapter desired. Consequently the walls were built higher and embattled, several towers were erected, and five gates, protected with double gate-houses, gave entrance to the Close.

Much of the wall remains, and two of the gates, Pottergate Arch and Exchequer Gate, are still preserved; the others have been demolished.

Exchequer Gate, facing Castle Hill, is a very familiar and charming structure. Originally it was a double gate-house which kept guard over the western entrance to the Cathedral Close from the Bail. The part we see to-day, consisting of three storeys, formed the inner gate-house; the outer one which crossed the street from the Church of S. Mary Magdalene, being allowed to fall into decay, was removed

in the nineteenth century. The square enclosed between these two gates was the Chequer.

The remaining portion presents a very good example of a Decorated gatehouse of the thirteenth century. The central arch spans the roadway and the two side arches are open for the foot-paths. The arches are groined, and carved bosses cover the point of intersection of the ribs. The boss in the northern arch represents the Crucifixion, that in the southern one represents a gate and tower, while the centre one is carved with the sacred monogram **THS**.

In 1800 this gatehouse was used as an inn, and bore the sign 'The Great Tom'; it is now used as the Probate Court and the Bishop's Registry.

The Close wall ran from Exchequer Gate northwards and crossed Eastgate to the Black Horse Inn, where there was another entrance with two gate-houses. The wall continued northwards to the County Assembly House, and then eastwards where a portion is incorporated in the building of Deloraine Court. It was carried on to the East Bight where a gate brought from the old Deanery was erected; it then followed the line to the north-east corner of the old Roman city. Hence it led to the double gate-house at Eastgate from which it passed to the north entrance of the Minster Yard near the modern Priory Gate.

The *North Gate* was removed in 1815-16. This massive embattled structure had a vaulted arch and was protected by a portcullis. The upper storey formed the Muniment Room of the Minster. The site is now occupied by an arch called 'Priory Gate,' a misleading name since there were never any monastic buildings in the vicinity.

From the North Gate the wall passed through the Chancery Gardens—where two of its towers are still preserved—and joined Pottergate Arch near Wragby Road.

Pottergate Arch is a charming old gateway and takes its name from the pottery works established here in Roman



POTTERGATE ARCH

times. It is quite simple in structure, consisting of a single arch which spanned the road before it was widened. The stairway leads to the chamber above. This is lighted with loopholes through which, in the olden days, the gatekeeper kept watch or missiles were discharged; it also retains a quaint old fireplace from which rises an external chimney.

The wall connected Pottergate Arch with the postern standing at the top of the Greestone Stairs—a flight of steps leading from Lindum Road to Minster Yard.

Perhaps a note on the word 'Greestone' may be of interest. It is probably a corruption of the obsolete Middle English word 'Grecing' now only found in dialect, and itself derived from 'gree,' meaning a step, as in the old French 'gre,' and in Latin "gressus," a step.

Caxton in 1483 spelt it 'grec,' with plural 'grees'; another plural form 'grece,' was also used and meant a flight of steps, so that 'greces,' 'greeses,' or 'greezen' which sometimes occur are really double plurals. The word 'gree' is used in the singular form by Chaucer; Wycliffe in the 'Acts of the Apostles,' has 'Poul stood on the greezen,' while Shakespeare in old editions has 'grice' and 'greese.'

The wall then formed the southern boundary of the Vicars' Court Gardens, and followed the south Roman wall—enclosing the Sub-Deanery and Precentory—towards Steep Hill, and completing its circuit at the Exchequer Gate.

This enclosed south-east quarter of the Roman city became known as the 'Close' as the south-west quarter enclosed by the Castle wall was called the 'Bail,' and both these enclosures were formerly exempt from the jurisdiction which the burgesses of the City exercised in virtue of their Royal Charter.

Other gates, also of Norman construction, stood in various parts of the City. The masonry has gone but their names are still preserved.

Clasketgate stood at the junction of Broad Gate and Silver Street. This Norman gate, with round-headed arches and

walls pierced with narrow loop windows, may have replaced an earlier one of Roman times. It was in this gate that the Knights Templars were kept in custody awaiting their trial in the Chapter House.

Thorngate was also similar in construction, and stood where the eastern wall came down to the River Witham. The site alone remains.

Newlandgate gave entrance to the new land below the Hill, reclaimed from the morass and swamps by drainage and embankments.

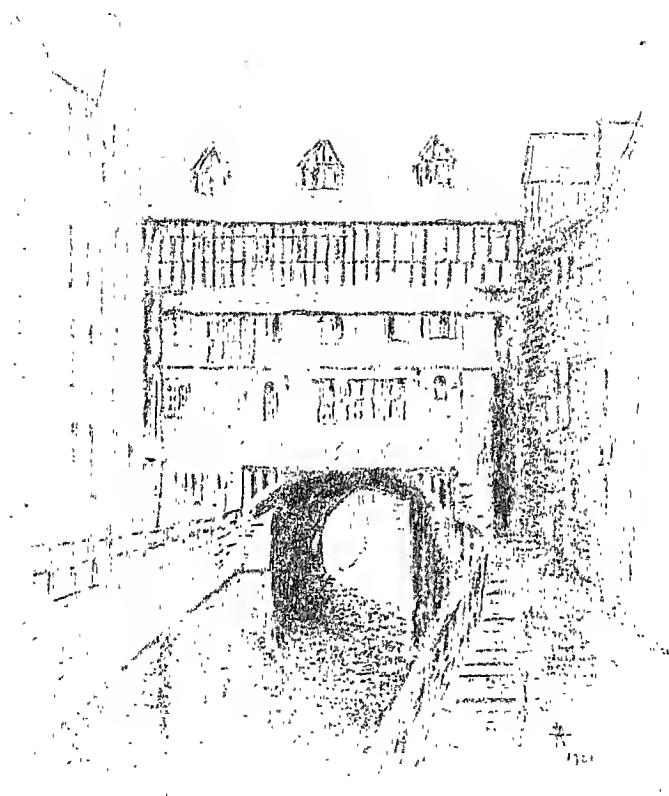
In later times the City walls and defences followed chiefly the lines of the first and second Roman cities, and were also pierced at intervals by gates protected by gate-houses designed for military defence.

With the growth of the City, the marshy land below the hill, then a chain of lakes and meres, was drained. Houses were built on the higher ground and along the existing Roman highways, and Lincoln still developed southwards.

In time the City gradually became divided into two parts—above hill and below hill—and the new southern suburb was known as Wigford.

With the extension of the City these ancient mural defences eventually became useless. Over the cut called Sincil Dyke, which originally was made by the Romans and ran parallel with the River Witham for the purpose of drainage and security, two bridges supporting gates were constructed. Sincil Dyke then formed the southern and eastern boundary of the new suburb, while the River Witham formed the western boundary and, as a further defence, the inner banks of these waterways were raised by strong stone ramparts.

A bridge carried the main road southward over the Sincil Dyke, and supported a gate built with a gabled arch and flanked by a round tower on each side. This was called the Great Bargate and it protected the City from the south. A little to the east of this, another bridge crossed



THE OLD BRIDGE

the Dyke. This, too, was defended by similar but smaller bastions, and was known as Little Bargate. Both gates were of early Norman construction and were standing as late as 1730. Part of the strong stone wall which joined them, running parallel with Sincil Dyke, still remains.

LINCOLN'S HIGH BRIDGE

The interesting and charming old bridge which crosses the River Witham in the High Street has a very long history, and claims to be one of the oldest in the country. It was built in 1160 and consists of a single span, massive and Norman in character, twenty-two feet in width and eleven feet in height. Five semicircular stone ribs support a stone barrel-vaulting constructed between them. Steps lead down from the High Street to the water level, where one may see the dark vault now known as the 'Glory Hole.'

The High Street itself passes over the original portion of the bridge which, on the western side, retains its fine old timbered houses and shops, picturesque and well preserved.

Old records tell us that in 1235 the bridge was extended eastwards for the erection of a wayside chapel, dedicated to S. Thomas of Canterbury, which replaced a former one. This chapel was demolished in the eighteenth century and its site was marked by the erection of the present obelisk.

Dwelling-houses also formerly existed on this side of the bridge. Those on the opposite side, built in the reign of Henry VIII and still retaining their original oak beams, are now the property of the Corporation and have been carefully restored.

The High Bridge has always formed part of the great highway to the City, but it was not until 1792 that the river was deepened and made navigable to the bridge. When this improvement was proposed, strong objections were raised by the Corporation, who feared the loss of the fees paid to them for the transhipment of goods. The scheme,

however, was carried through, and we are told that before the work of construction commenced, wooden planks were laid across the river and a dance was held under the groined arch, an exciting and interesting event in the history of this picturesque old bridge, now scheduled as an ancient monument.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCHES OF LINCOLN

LINCOLN in Saxon times, and to a still greater degree in Norman times, was an important City, and the numerous churches and pious foundations bear witness to the religious zeal of the wealthy citizens, who, at the same time that they stood high in the commercial world, used a great part of their gain to build and endow churches.

Before the Norman Conquest, Lincoln was a rich and prosperous trading centre, and like most of our ancient towns, was divided into a number of small parishes each with its own church—some large and beautiful, others smaller and simple in construction.

Various references to the churches are made by the old chroniclers which show that there were many in existence in early times, and the Anglo-Saxon historian—the Venerable Bede—who died in 735, refers to a stone church in Lincoln, built by Paulinus, a Roman missionary, afterwards Archbishop of York.

During the Norman period the growing prosperity of the City continued, and the number of churches increased accordingly, for many were founded by the wealthy merchants who had made their fortunes within her walls, and with the arrival of Remigius and other great Norman churchmen, churches in Lincoln sprang up rapidly. Many of them, we are told, were very mean buildings and quite unworthy of dedication to the service of God, though, on the other hand, many were remarkable for their magnificence and beauty.

Leland tells us that when he visited the City in the sixteenth century he learnt that there had formerly been fifty-two churches in existence. "There goith a commune Fame

that there were ons 52 Paroche Chirches yn Lincoln Cite, and the suburbes of it.'

Of this number, forty-nine were parochial churches, the others being the Church of S. Thomas of Canterbury, known as the 'Bridge Chapel' which stood on the High Bridge, and the two chapels connected with hospitals. During this period of prosperity so many sacred buildings were erected that eventually Lincoln seems to have consisted chiefly of churches, chapels, monasteries, priories, chantries, and hospitals, the result being that, later on, this lavish abundance of religious foundations far exceeded the needs of the population, and proved to be rather a burden than a blessing to the City, when, by the turn of fortune, Lincoln, which had been a staple town for various commodities, and had become the fourth City in the land, suffered great loss of trade. When in 1369 the Staple was removed, rich merchants left the City, the population decreased, parishes became deserted, the churches were empty, tithes and oblations fell off, the priests were unsupported, and Mass ceased to be said: then it was realized that a union of benefices was necessary, and in the reign of Edward VI, a petition was sent to the King by the Mayor and citizens for permission to pull down the unnecessary churches, and to unite the deserted parishes with the more populous ones. This permission was granted by letters patent which are still in the archives of the Corporation, and bear the date May 1549. These provided for the relief and union of the parishes, the churches of which, in the prosperous times, had been supported 'by privie tythes of the rich merchaunts, clothyers, artyficers, and of the offrynges of a great multitude of people, within the same parishes, whiche lyvynges are now too much decayed by the greate ruyne and decay of the said citie, and of the trade of the clothmaking and merchaundise there, that the revenues and profitts of dyvers, the said benefices there, are at this present not above the clere yearly value of thirtie shillings, so that a great sort of

these are not a competent and honest lyving for a good curate, and no personne will take the cure of them, but that of povertie and necessitie there are some late religious personnes being stipendaries taken and appoynted to serve the said cures and benefices, whiche for the moste parte are unlerned and verie ignoraunte personnes not able to do any parte of their dueties; by reason whereof, the sayd citie is not only replenished with blynde guydes and pastors, but also the people very much kept in ignoraunce and blyndness as well as their dueties towards Almightye God, as also the Kinges majestie their souvereine lord and the common Wealthe of the Realme and to the great daungier of their soules.' Therefore it was decreed that it should be lawful within six years of that session of Parliament, to unite parishes, so that the yearly value of any one should not exceed £14, to pull down unnecessary churches, and to use the materials to repair others.

So by this permission of Edward VI, the scheme was put into force. The materials of the decayed churches were used partly for repairing and enlarging other churches, partly for restoring and building bridges, and for constructing and mending causeways; and by the further sanction of the Union by Queen Mary, the forty-nine parochial churches which were in Lincoln, were finally reduced to thirteen.

Further destruction came during the storming of the City in 1644, when this pitiful remnant was so reduced, that at the Restoration, only three Parish Churches remained fit for public worship, namely, S. Mary-le-Wigford, S. Peter at Arches and S. Peter at Gowts.

Of the ten churches damaged during the Civil War, nine were not restored until the following century, and the Church of S. Nicholas was not reconstructed till 1840.

Consequently many churches in Lincoln are modern buildings erected on the ancient consecrated sites, or in which the fabric of an older church is incorporated. Some are remarkable for their beauty and structure as that of

S. Swithin, others for their antiquity, origin, and history, as that of S. Paul.

From the point of view of the antiquarian, perhaps the most interesting churches in Lincoln to-day are those of S. Paul, erected on the site of the first church in Lincoln in the heart of the old Roman city, and the two Saxon churches found in the lower part of the city, S. Peter at Gowts and S. Mary-le-Wigford, originally built by Colswegen, a citizen of Danish origin, to whom William I had granted land among the swamps below the hill.

The *Church of S. Paul* in the Bail has a history which takes us back to the early days of Christianity in our land, and probably occupies the most hallowed ground in the whole county, for on this site stood the first Christian church in Lincolnshire.

Here, we are told, S. Paulinus, Archbishop of York, built a church of stone in 627 A.D., and here, in the same year, he consecrated Honorius, the fifth Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bede tells us that this church in ruins might still be seen, when by long neglect, or by the violence of the enemy, only the walls were left standing. Many centuries later, these ruins, or what was left of them, were seen by Dr. Stukeley, who describes the north doorway, the capitals and the nail-work, as being the style of pre-Norman times. This doorway, it is believed, was probably used by S. Paulinus and his first convert Blecca, the Governor of the City, for opposite stands the famous fragment of a very great Roman building, known as Mint Wall, which it has been suggested may probably be the remains of the palace where Blecca resided.

Moreover, this church is believed to be the Mother Church not only of Lincoln, but of the whole kingdom of Mercia, the central district of England, which included the counties of Rutland, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Chester, Gloucester, Worcester,

Stafford, Warwick, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford and Hertford.

The Church of S. Paul, therefore, has a most interesting history, and within the early building were many ancient tombstones of black marble inscribed in Roman characters, but like many of our ancient sanctuaries, this church has had its periods of prosperity and times of depression, and so these sacred monuments have been removed or destroyed.

At a very early date in the history of this church it was given to the Abbey of Trentham in Staffordshire, but on the suppression of this foundation, the patronage passed to Heneage, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and his successors. In 1232 it was made a Rectory by Bishop Hugh de Wells.

From time to time apparently this church had been restored, but eventually it was allowed to fall into decay, and in 1302 the whole fabric collapsed. It was, however, rebuilt by the parishioners during the episcopate of Bishop D'Alderby. In common with many other churches, it was greatly damaged during the siege of 1644, but was again restored in 1700. Further trouble came in 1715 when the spire was blown down, and the church sank into complete decay.

In 1786, however, much of the fabric of this ancient church was incorporated in a new building which, though quite small, served the needs of the parish till 1876, when it was taken down to clear the site for the present building. The foundation stone of the church we see to-day, designed by Sir A. W. Blomfield, was laid on S. Paul's Day, 1877, and the church was consecrated by Bishop Wordsworth in July of that year. This building of local stone, with red brick windows and doorways, follows the Early English style of architecture, and consists of a chancel and vestry, nave of four bays, south aisle and western porch. An open bell turret, containing one bell, rises from the chancel arch and terminates in a tall slender spirelet. The building is now known as the Church of S. Paul, but the name is rather a

corruption of that of Paulinus, the founder, than a dedication to the Apostle S. Paul.

The *Church of S. Peter-at-Gowts* stands in the High Street close to the gowts, i.e., channels or watercourses probably cut by the Romans. The first Christian church erected here seems to have been built on a mound some eight feet above the Roman road, where, it is thought, there had been in earlier times a Saxon pagan temple, which probably had replaced a Roman heathen temple. This theory is supported by the existence of the weather-worn figure which now stands high up in the west front of the tower, and may have been the figure of Jupiter in the pediment of a Roman temple, while there are Roman tiles and Roman tooled masonry in the base of the tower.

A Christian church therefore may have occupied this site for over a thousand years; the one we see to-day consists of a chancel, nave, north and south aisles, and a tall square western tower, which rises sheer from the foundation with no supporting buttresses. Though parts of it may have been built in the reign of William I, by Colswegen, this curious little church possesses characteristics of pre-Norman workmanship.

The earliest work will be seen in the series of stones in the angles formed by the north and south aisles and the tower, known as 'long and short' work of Saxon building, and the heavy solid bases of the pillars in the south aisle are possibly part of the earliest church which stood here about the year 950.

There is good reason for thinking that the tower was built not long after this date. Its slightly tapering form, the almost entire absence of lights in the lower storeys, the lack of any permanent means of ascent, the circular headed windows divided by baluster mullions in the belfry, the character of the interior tower arch, and the tooling of the masonry are all believed to be thoroughly Saxon in style.

Apparently this original Christian church did not stand

long, for at a later date, probably about the year 1100, a Norman church was built consisting of nave, north aisle and apsidal chancel, and parts of this church also still remain. The window over the lectern belonged to this Norman church, and the remains of the external string course that went round a similar window are to be seen in the upper wall of the Lady Chapel.

As time went on many alterations and additions were made. At the end of the thirteenth century the south aisle and a Lady Chapel were erected. The beautiful shaft of the pillar in the south aisle is of this date, and the windows too are very good specimens of the style of the late Decorated period.

The external walls of the chapel and south aisle were apparently rebuilt at a later date. The present north aisle was built in 1852 when the church was again restored. The chancel was built in 1887 and consecrated by Bishop King, at which ceremony the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) preached the consecration sermon. The two carved figures on the reredos, representing S. Paulinus and S. Hugh, have a special interest for churchmen of to-day, since they were also intended to recall the features of Archbishop Benson and Bishop King respectively. It may also be remembered that it was in this church that Bishop King was watched, and the evidence was taken which led to his prosecution and trial before the Archbishop's Court.

As one would expect this church possesses interesting memorials. The monumental arch opening into an Early English chantry dedicated to S. Mary is formed by the head of the tomb of the Founder and his wife. Randolph Joliffe, a citizen and merchant, who died in 1347, founded this chantry to ensure prayers for the souls of himself and his wife Amicia. The Latin inscription, somewhat difficult to decipher, on the incised slab with two crosses, indicates that their bodies were buried here and left in the safe keeping of Our Lord the 'God born of a Virgin Mother.'

RADULFUS JOLVF SUA CON JUX AC AMISIA HIC
 SIMUL HUMATUR QUIBUS ISTA CAPELLA PARATUR
 VIRGINE MATER THEOS QUI SIBI SALVET EOS
 PRO QUIBUS ORETIS OPUS HOC QUICUNQ VIDEATIS

The small tub font is evidently very ancient, and perhaps belonged to the earliest church. It was probably formed out of a Roman pillar and the simple sculpture, added at a later time, may be the work of a Saxon mason.

The window in the east wall of the tower was used by the sacristan to time the ringing of the consecration bell, and most of the stained-glass windows are worthy of close inspection. Many mural tablets remain, the memorials of the Gardiner, Gonvill, and Bromhead families being very interesting.

Recently the church was enriched by a Rood over the chancel which depicts the Cross as the Tree of Life, and was the last work of Temple Moore.

The *Church of S. Mary-le-Wigford* known as S. Mary-below-Hill, dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin, is situated in High Street, and is one of those built by Colswegen.

Since it was probably erected immediately after the Norman Conquest, Saxon labour was almost certainly employed. The present building consists of a chancel of two bays, nave of three bays, north and south aisles, and a very remarkable tower suggesting its Saxon origin, though probably erected on a Roman foundation. This tall square tower, built of rubble with stone quoins, rises sheer from the base to the upper storey, without ornament, and without buttresses. A wide moulding projects round the base of the belfry which is narrower than the lower parts of the tower, and is lit by coupled windows divided by balusters characteristic of the buildings of 940 to 1080. This church thus provides an excellent example of the style of tower built by our Saxon forefathers nearly a thousand years ago. 'Long and Short' work will be noticed at the junction of the

tower and the nave, and built into the south-western face of the tower is a peculiar Roman monumental stone bearing a Latin inscription:

DIS MNIBVS
NOMINI SACRI
BRVSCI FILI CIVIS
SENONI ET CARSS°
YNAE CONIVGIS
EIVS ET QUINTI F.

It is evidently a memorial to a certain Sacer, a Senonian citizen, and to his wife Carssouna, and to their son Quintus, who lived in the first century after Christ. This stone apparently impressed the founder of this church, for above this Latin inscription is another in Saxon:

‘P EIRTIG me let wirce|an 7 fios godia|n Criste to lofe 7 Sancte|Marie.’

The inscription is difficult to decipher, but one rendering is:

‘Eirtig had me built and endowed to the praise of Christ and St. Mary.’

This church possesses many interesting features and Camden says: ‘exhibits enough to awaken the curiosity of the stranger, and to interest the enquiry of the acute antiquary.’

The nave of the church is built in the Early English style, the clustered pillars set in circular bases, and the foliage of the capitals, stiff and conventional, closely resembles the nave capitals of the Minster.

Two brasses, which were found in a stone coffin under the middle aisle, are of much interest. The one on the north pillar of the inner arch of the tower bears an inscription to William Horn:

‘Here lies William Horn formerly Mayor of the City of Lincoln, who died 12th day of March A.D. 1469, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.’

The other, in the form of a cross, is on the west wall of the south aisle and is inscribed to:

‘John Jobson, fishmonger, at one time an Alderman in the City of Lincoln, who died 4th day of July A.D. 1525, on whose soul may God have mercy.’

Below is the design of a chopper and flesh knife, the tools of his trade.

The east end of the church at once arrests the eye, being pierced by two lancet windows, separated externally by a buttress, above which is a quatrefoiled ‘vesica piscis’ window. Behind the High Altar is a recess in the wall, probably a reliquary or aumbry where sacred relics were kept.

The church was restored in 1872, and again in 1877, when a new south aisle was built in the Decorated style, the Early English doorway and windows being retained. The tower, restored in 1909, contains four bells dating from 1616 to 1636. The brass chandelier was the gift of the Corporation in 1720.

S. Mary's Conduit is the curious little building which forms part of the wall of the churchyard, and formerly served this part of the City with water, conducted from a spring on the eastern hills about a mile away. The structure is formed out of fragments of the old White Friary, which were brought here by the Grey Friars about 1535, when the former friary was demolished. Small portions of niches and other decorated work incorporated in the walls show very delicate workmanship.

The *Church of S. Benedict* is now a much treasured little sanctuary situated just below the High Bridge. This small building which is only a fragment of a large church, was probably built just after the Norman Conquest, and is intimately associated with the history of the City.

During the prosperous years the Church of S. Benedict was attended by many wealthy citizens who eventually endowed chantries and altars, and bequeathed money for

their maintenance. Part of the memorial of one of these citizens—Edward Sapcote—has been preserved and now forms the plinth of the Caroline Pulpit. This early church was so important and spacious that at the death of Queen Elizabeth the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered the sermons of appreciation of the late Queen and of thankfulness that her successor, James I, was ‘of such profession,’ to be preached here. Later this church fell on evil days and suffered destruction under Cromwell’s rule. When the trouble was over, the little chancel we see to-day was restored in the Early English style, and some time after a Decorated window was inserted.

The nave has been destroyed, but the low tower, rising from the western arch of the chancel, which was similar to that of S. Mary-le-Wigford, was rebuilt from the old material and moved to its present position. The belfry storey contains round-headed coupled windows, the two lights being divided by midwall shafts after the manner of Saxon architecture, though the building of the church was not begun until after the Norman Conquest. The belfry, we read, was once occupied by a very notable bell, popularly known to all citizens as ‘Old Kate.’ This bell, famous both for its ornamentation and richness of tone, was stamped with the crest of the Barber Surgeons, and bore the date 1585. At 6 o’clock every morning Old Kate called the workmen to their duty, and at 7 o’clock every evening, bade them cease their toil. One celebrated bellman was the parish clerk, John Middlebrook, at whose death this office passed to his perhaps more dutiful widow, Mary Middlebrook. Her house, we are told, adjoined the church, and in her advanced years, this ingenious woman had a hole pierced in the wall of her room through which the bellrope passed to her bed. By this device Mary’s labour was reduced, and instead of climbing the belfry on the cold winter mornings, she in comfort called the citizens from their slumbers, and then resumed her own. Eventu-

ally Old Kate was removed from this tower to that of the Church of S. Mark.

For seventy years this little church ceased to be used for public worship and stood in a ruinous state, being given over to rats, dirt, and disorder, but in 1932 it was again restored. During the restoration ancient sedilia were found in the southern wall of the chancel and many interesting structural features were discovered. This beautiful little sanctuary is now used, not as a parish church, but for extra-liturgical worship.

The *Church of S. Martin* is a modern building of Gothic architecture consecrated in 1873 to take the place of the old parish church which stood in S. Martin's Lane.

This former church had claims to antiquity, and was regarded as the earliest church in the lower part of the City, since there is reason for believing it was in existence in Saxon times. Camden, the antiquary, suggests that probably S. Martin was the tutelary saint of the City at that time, 'for one of the churches was dedicated to him,' while further evidence is provided by coins struck in the tenth century, bearing the sword of S. Martin. These may be seen in the museum, and among them is a curious little silver coin stamped on one side with a sword and this inscription:

S̄CIM.

ARTI

∇⊥∇

and on the other side with a cross and the words:

LINCOLIA CIVIT

which, authorities suggest, may probably have been struck by the chief magistrate of the City before the Norman Conquest. The cross and name of the saint prove it to be a Christian coin.

After the Conquest, the church was given to Remigius

by William I. During the siege in 1644 the church then occupying this site was seriously damaged, and it was not until 1739 that the ruins were restored and the tower rebuilt. In 1873, however, the present church was erected on West Parade, some distance to the west of the original site, so occupying a more central position in the parish. This modern building, designed in Early English style, has a lofty nave with a clerestory and side aisles, an apsidal chancel richly decorated in 1902 by A. O. Heming, and a tower which rises from the south-east angle of the nave. Most of the windows are filled with stained glass, and the pulpit, handsomely carved, was erected as a memorial to Jane White Wray, who died in 1882, and George Wray, who died in 1907.

The beautiful little side chapel under the church tower, the work of Temple Moore, is a memorial to the late Bishop Edward King and was dedicated in 1912. Its east window has two lights; in one is represented S. Helena—in memory of the daughter of the late Vicar—Canon E. Akenhead, and in the other is a striking portrait of Bishop King in cope and mitre.

When this new church was built the body of the old one was pulled down, but the shafts and capitals were then purchased by Bishop Wordsworth and incorporated in the new church of S. Andrew. The old tower, however, was left standing until 1921, when it, too, was demolished.

The *Church of S. Botolph* on the east side of High Street is a plain building, erected in 1721 on the site of a former cruciform church, reputed to have been the largest and most stately parish church in Lincoln. This dignified building was a prebendal church given to Bishop Bloet by Henry I, but during the Civil War it shared the same fate as other churches in the City. The lead was torn from the roof and made into bullets, its ornaments were broken down, its plate and sacred treasures were seized and sold, and it is recorded, that at the restoration of Charles II the sole

remaining property of the church was one bell and the register book.

In 1720 the ruins of this former church were removed, and the church of to-day was erected on the consecrated site. In 1878 it was enlarged by the extension of the chancel and the addition of a north aisle, so that now it consists of a chancel, nave of four bays, aisles, vestry, and western tower with pinnacles. In 1919, a Rood Beam, designed by Sir Charles Nicholson, was erected as a memorial to those parishioners who fell in the Great War, 1914-18.

The piscina and sedilia were constructed from the old material of the original church, and in the pavement near the west door lies an interesting large sepulchral slab with a matrix of a Flemish brass.

In 1344 a chantry was founded here by William of Bayeux for which the Prior of S. Katherine's was bound to find a priest. The work of this church is now extended in a mission church dedicated to S. Katherine and All Saints.

The *Church of S. Mark* is a modern building erected in 1871-2 to replace a mean edifice reconstructed in 1788, from the ruins of the ancient church dedicated to this saint. The original building was one of the thirteen survivors after the Union of Benefices, but it did not escape destruction by the Parliamentary forces, being greatly damaged during the siege. Finally the shattered tower collapsed in 1720.

The present church, built of stone in the Early English style, consists of a five-sided apsidal chancel, a nave, a semicircular baptistry and a tower from which rises a spire. In 1908 the building was enlarged by the addition of the choir and priests' vestries.

In the belfry hangs the old Curfew bell known as 'Old Kate,' bearing the date 1585, which was brought here from the tower of S. Benedict. Perhaps the most interesting features of the church are found in the Norman arch mouldings in the north transept, preserved from the original

church, a diminutive stone coffin, and memorials of the families of knights merchants of the Staple and other distinguished citizens.

The *Church of S. Peter-at-Arches*, the City church, is a spacious modern building erected in the Renaissance style with a semicircular eastern apse, nave, aisles, and western tower, surmounted by four large crosses. The belfry contains a magnificent peal of eight bells, cast in 1728, which were reputed to be the finest in the City.

The eastern windows are filled with stained glass, and the magnificent altar piece, the gift of the City, is a painting by Damini, a Venetian, in 1727. In 1722 this church was rebuilt at the expense of the Corporation, for which they agreed to forgo their annual feast, costing £100, for ten years.

The church contains fine marble memorials to noted citizens, and in the vestry is a brass, formerly in the Church of S. Benedict and dated 1617, to John Becke, twice mayor, and Mary his wife. Both are represented by figures kneeling at a desk with a book, and behind them are the outlines of their nine children.

The church takes its name from the arched gate-house which from Roman times crossed the High Street on the site of the present Stonebow. In 1932 it was proposed to take down this church and to use the stone for building the new church in S. Giles suburb, in which the bells and furniture would also be preserved.

The *Church of S. Swithin*, erected in 1870, is perhaps the finest modern church in Lincoln. It stands on a part of the old sheep square, just east of the site occupied by an earlier church of the Decorated period of which Camden says 'This appears to have been the best parish church, except S. Botolph's, in the town.'

The former building stood near the south wall of the lower Roman city, but it was almost destroyed in 1644 by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder on the Cornhill. The south aisle only was preserved and restored, but in

1801 this portion of the original building also gave place to another church. This apparently did not stand long, for the foundation stone of the present church which occupies its site was laid by Bishop Wordsworth in 1869.

This modern church, erected in the Decorated style, has a particularly fine tower with pinnacles and a spire 200 feet high, which is a memorial to the late Joseph Shuttleworth. During the digging for the foundations in 1844, a perfect Roman altar was discovered. It dates from the second century, and is hewn out of a single block of oolite stone, three feet in height. It is carved with figures of the sacrificial vessels, and bears the following inscription to the Fates:

PARCIS DEA
EVS, ET, NV
MINIBVS AVG
C ANTISTIVS
FRONTINVS
CVRATOR TER A.R. D.L.D. '

This has been translated:

'To the Goddesses, the Fates, and to the Deities of Augustus, Caius Antistius Frontinus, being Curator for the third time, erects this Altar at his own cost.'

The *Church of All Saints* in Monks Road is a new building erected and endowed by the generosity of Alfred Shuttleworth; in 1904 it was consecrated by Bishop King. This church is beautified by a series of painted windows representing Lincolnshire Saints, by a Rood, and two side chapels, dedicated to S. Mary and S. Hugh.

The *Church of S. Andrew* originally stood in the High Street and joined the south-east of the Palace of John of Gaunt, for which it served as a private chapel, being known as S. Andrew in Wigford. Formerly, another church dedicated to the saint stood on the eastern side of Danesgate near the Bishop's Palace, and was distinguished

from this one by the name S. Andrew under the Palace. Both these churches were destroyed at the Union of Benefices, but in 1876-7 the present church was built and dedicated to S. Andrew. The foundation stone was laid by Bishop Wordsworth, Chancellor Benson—afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury—being present. This modern building stands in Canwick Road, formerly in the parish of S. Peter at Gowts, but in 1883 the district was made into a separate parish.

The church is built in the Early English style, and has a semicircular apsidal chancel with vestry, which is separated from the nave and its aisles by a low stone screen. Part of the old church of S. Martin is incorporated in the arches of the south aisle. In 1882-3 the church was enriched by five stained-glass windows, inserted by the late Rev. C. Trollope Swan who died in 1904, and again in 1890 by the addition of a chapel in the south chancel as a memorial to the Rev. Canon V. W. Hutton; this in 1894 was provided with an oak screen and stained-glass, being a gift of the Rev. P. R. Lloyd.

The *Church of S. Michael on the Mount*, situated at the east end of Castle Hill, is the third to occupy this site. The first church, confirmed to Bishop Alexander by Pope Innocent II in 1138, was one of the largest and most decorated of Lincoln's churches, and was the centre of the Guild of Corpus Christi.

Various references are made to this church in the history of the Blue Coat School, or Christ's Hospital, which adjoins the churchyard. The school was founded in 1612 for the education of twelve poor children who attended S. Michael's Church, and the arcading from the gallery they occupied is preserved in the vestry of the present church.

In common with many of the churches in Lincoln this one was also reduced to ruins in 1644, being shattered by the artillery of the Parliamentary forces from the opposite hill, so that in 1674, we are told, only the bare walls remained.

Consequently the parish was without a church for nearly a century, when in 1740 a smaller one was completed. The four 'silver toned' bells cast in 1593, which hung in the old church, were sold to assist the funds for this new building.

The present church was built on the old site and dates from 1856. It is raised in the form of a Latin cross from the designs of Teulon, and consists of an apsidal chancel, an impressive little Lady Chapel on the south side, an organ chamber and vestry on the north side, and a nave and eastern turret containing one bell. More recently this church has been enriched by choir stalls, a rood beam, angel figures on the east wall, and a new pulpit.

This parish includes all the ancient Jews' houses, as well as the Bishop's Palace and Bishop's Hostel, the present Theological College. Since the grounds of the Old Palace adjoin those of this church, the late Bishop King frequently attended here as a parishioner.

The *Church of S. Mary Magdalene* recalls a former one with the same dedication which was known as the 'Chequer Church.' It was in existence at the time of the Conquest, but it was soon destroyed and the ground on which it stood was taken by Remigius for his Minster. It is believed that part of the Cathedral nave now occupies this hallowed site, for during alterations in the Morning Chapel, a Saxon headstone was discovered showing this portion to be part of the burial ground belonging to this Saxon church. Though this ancient church was swept away the parishioners were not neglected, as Remigius assigned the western part of the Minster as their place of worship, and one of the Cathedral clergy was deputed to minister to them. This arrangement apparently was not always satisfactory, and two centuries later a new chapel was erected for them and dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene. Unfortunately this building was severely battered by the Cromwellians in 1644 and lay desolate till 1695 when the parishioners rebuilt it. In 1866 a fresh structure was erected, but

in 1882 it was entirely rebuilt under the direction of G. T. Bodley, architect, who consequently was responsible for the beautiful little church which we see to-day.

The *Church of S. Peter in Eastgate*, is a modern church, though it stands on ground where two earlier ones in turn have stood. The present building began its history in 1870, when it was built in the Early English style from the designs of A. W. Blomfield. It consisted originally of a chancel, nave, north aisle, and western turret containing one bell, but many additions have been made at later dates.

The interior of this church is very beautiful and its sacred treasures receive much care. The reredos, representing Our Lord's commission to S. Peter, was erected in 1884, as a memorial to the late Frederick Burton and his wife. In 1894 the church was enlarged by the addition of two vestries and a north porch; and an organ, the gift of Alfred Shuttleworth and Nathaniel C. Cockburn, was installed as a memorial to Nathaniel Clayton. In 1913 a complete restoration began. The chancel was extended, the nave was improved by a barrel ceiling, and the church was enriched by a window on the south of the altar, and a beautiful rood and screen. A south aisle, with an altar dedicated to S. Margaret, was built by Alfred Shuttleworth in 1914, and later on, the six windows of this aisle were filled with stained glass illustrating the Te Deum, while a war memorial, worthy of its setting, was inserted in the East End.

The first church is said to have been large and beautiful and at the east end of the north aisle was a chantry chapel dedicated to S. Margaret. In 1293 Roger Fitz Benedict, a wealthy Christian Jew, who had been Mayor of Lincoln in 1279-80-81, endowed this chapel, and later on in 1301 property was bequeathed for two priests to say Mass here for the soul of King Edward I.

This church too did not escape the ravages of war in 1644. The lead was stripped from its roof, brasses torn from its pavements, glass and ornaments destroyed and

plate and furniture stolen. For over a century the church was left desolate until in 1776, the remains were used to build another church, simple but inferior in structure, on the site.

The Register of this parish dates from 1662 and that of the Parish of S. Margaret, to which it is united, dates from 1538.

The *Church of S. Margaret* was probably founded by Blecca, an Anglo-Saxon convert of S. Paulinus, and originally stood to the south-east of the Cathedral at the top of the Greestone Stairs, where the graveyard may still be seen. This church fell into disuse, and in 1778-80 was pulled down, its materials, together with those of the ruined church of S. Peter in Eastgate, being used to build a new church to serve the two parishes which were then united, and now called S. Peter-in-Eastgate with S. Margaret.

The *Mission Church of S. Giles* in north-east Lincoln, was dedicated by Bishop Swayne in 1922; ten years later a new parish was formed, and it was proposed to build a new Church which should incorporate much of the old masonry from the Church of S. Peter-at-Arches.

The *Church of S. Nicholas in Newport*, originally one of the ancient churches in Lincoln, being granted by Henry I to Bishop Bloet, stood in the now disused churchyard at the corner of Newport and Church Lane, but during the Civil War in 1644 it was reduced to ruins. Eventually these were removed, and in 1757 a wall was built round the churchyard from the old material, part of which may still be seen.

In 1840 the name of this church was preserved in a new building dedicated to S. Nicholas, though erected on another site, and this serves the united parishes of S. Nicholas and S. John. The church of the latter was demolished in 1584.

The present church was one of the earliest designed by Sir Gilbert Scott. During the period 1879-90 certain

improvements were carried out, and in 1909 it was considerably enlarged by the addition of a chancel and south aisle according to the designs of Hodgson Fowler, architect, Lincoln.

The *Church of S. Matthias* in Burton Road, is a Chapel of Ease to the Church of S. Nicholas, and was built in 1909.

The *Mission Church of S. Christopher* in Long Leys Road is also connected with the Church of S. Nicholas.

The *Church of S. Faith* is a fine new building of brick in Charles Street, erected in the Perpendicular style from the designs of Hodgson Fowler, Lincoln, and was consecrated in 1895 by Bishop Edward King.

The *Church of S. Helen*, the Parish Church of Boulton, was originally built in the thirteenth century, but, of course, it has experienced changes and been added to during this long period. In 1864 the chancel was rebuilt, and in 1887 the nave was rebuilt and enlarged. The oak wainscotting in the nave is an heritage from the past, having been made out of the old pews. The stained glass in the east window is a memorial to Lieut.-Colonel R. Ellison, who died in 1881, and Charlotte, his wife, who died in 1883, both of whom were great benefactors of this church.

The *Church of All Saints*, Bracebridge, though small, is a very interesting church. Its history began in Saxon times, and in its structure may be seen Saxon, Early Norman, Early English and later styles of architecture. The walls of the church are of great thickness, and on the south side are double sedilia and a piscina, well preserved. The two openings, hagioscopes, affording a view of the altar, are interesting as is also the old hour glass standing in the pillar by the side of the pulpit, which doubtless has attracted the attention of priest, congregation, and visitors down the ages. It is now fitted as a sand glass; the sand takes about twenty minutes to run through and is apparently adapting itself to the speed of modern times. A black letter Bible

is still preserved in this church, which also contains a rich collection of memorials to benefactors.

A fine Roman Catholic church dedicated to S. Hugh stands in Monks Road, and there are other churches of various denominations in the City, many of which are not unworthy of their place in such a city as Lincoln.

These are Lincoln's churches of to-day. In many a one is still preserved the sacred fabric of one still more ancient, but others there were which have been destroyed perhaps in the course of war, or perhaps by the hand of time, and their stones no doubt used for other buildings. Of these the very sites are either now unknown, or their hallowed ground become the busy mart, their names alone survive, the only memorial of the zeal and devotion of their founders.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MONASTIC AND CHARITABLE FOUNDATIONS

ALTHOUGH Lincoln is rich in the remains of many historic institutions, yet it does not appear to have been a great centre for monastic foundations; this is not surprising since there were numerous churches in the City, and the Cathedral and its activities doubtless absorbed most of the interest and wealth which otherwise might have gone to support the religious orders.

Nevertheless we find that there were in the City and its suburbs, three priories, four hospitals, and five houses of friars. Thus we see that the pious zeal of former ages found expression in various ways, for religious education and the care of the sick were always pressing needs. The remains of some of these old foundations may still be seen, while history alone can tell of the existence of others.

The *Priory of S. Katherine* was situated west of Bargate on the Newark Road. It was founded in 1148 by Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln, for the Gilbertine monks who followed the rule of S. Gilbert of Sempringham, and was dedicated to S. Katherine of Alexandria. Though the building has disappeared, there is much evidence of its former existence.

An interesting stone bas-relief, now preserved in Deloraine Court in James Street, representing scenes of the martyrdom of Saint Katherine, is believed to have formed part of an altar in this Priory. In one scene is represented the saint tortured amidst four revolving wheels armed with knives, in another is the Crucifixion, and in the other the execution of S. Katherine by beheading.

Situated just outside Lincoln, this Priory became a favourite halting place for royal and other distinguished visitors. Formerly it was the custom for the Judge of Assize to refresh himself here before entering the City, and in accordance with the ecclesiastical statutes, the Bishop of Lincoln slept here the night before his enthronement. From this Priory he walked barefoot to the Cathedral on Lincoln cloth which was then given to the poor. Though this custom is abandoned, the statute has not yet been repealed.

In 1290 the body of Queen Eleanor, who died at Harby, near Lincoln, rested in the Priory for a night when being conveyed to Westminster for burial, and just opposite on Swine Green, the first of the series of crosses was erected as a memorial to her; part of this one is preserved in the castle grounds.

From records we learn of many bequests from noted people to the Brothers and Sisters of this Priory, but at the Dissolution of the Monasteries this institution and all its possessions were surrendered to King Henry VIII. The last Prior, we read, was William Griffiths, who with fifteen monks gave up his Priory, the gross income of which was valued at £270 1s. 3d.

Four years later the site was granted to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king, but in the reign of James I it became the property of the noted Lincoln family of Grantham, who then lived in the fifteenth century house known as 'The Cardinal's Cap,' situated in Grantham Street.

In 1617 James I spent two nights here, but later on this Priory was neglected, and in 1763 the stones were used for building barns.

Fortunately some illustrations of this old Priory are preserved for us in the work of Buck, 1730; the foundations of the buildings also have been unearthed, and the many architectural fragments, and other relics which have been

discovered, help us to form an idea of the importance of this fine old institution.

The *Priory of S. Mary Magdalene* is preserved to us in the ruins of a small cell, locally called Monks' Abbey, which belonged to the great and influential Abbey of S. Mary at York. The Brothers of this community followed the rule of S. Benedict (480-543); they wore a black habit and scapular with cowl and hood, and from this dress they became known as the 'Black Monks.'

This little cell was founded in the reign of Henry II for two or three monks, though it probably occupies the site of an earlier monastery which was destroyed by the Danes in 876.

The ruins are situated in Monks Road, and are believed to have formed part of the chapel and domestic buildings. The north, south, and east walls of the chancel of the chapel are still to be seen, though much decayed and ivy-covered. They suggest Early English date, and enclose an area forty-two feet long and sixteen feet wide. Early English windows of two lights with tracery pierce the north wall; the east window of three lights has early Perpendicular tracery, while a square-headed window between two Early English ones remains in the south wall.

The bold round shaft attached to the wall on the south side, and the capital with nail-head ornament in the mouldings are late Norman work, and are believed to be the remains of a chantry chapel.

Among the remains of the domestic buildings, which are on the west of the chapel, is an interesting square-headed Tudor window.

North of these ruins are traces of the fish or mill pond used by the monks, and nearby was the spring, drawn from the local ironstone and famed for its medicinal properties.

At the Dissolution of the Monasteries this cell was surrendered to the Crown. Later on it became the possession of Vincent Grantham, and eventually it passed to

the Hon. W. F. Massey-Mainwaring, who presented it to the City of Lincoln, to be preserved as an ancient monument. The grounds, in which these ruins are situated, are now carefully preserved, and artistically planted with trees and flowers.

The *Priory of S. Bartholomew* was in existence in the reign of Henry III and was probably founded for the Jews converted to the Christian faith. All traces of this institution, however, have disappeared.

Throughout its history Lincoln has cared for the sick and poor, consequently in various parts of the City we find the remains of hospitals and other institutions which down the ages have been a refuge for those in distress. Most of the ancient hospitals were connected with the work of some church or religious organization; two of the earliest were founded by Remigius.

The *Hospital of the Holy Innocents* founded as a home for lepers stood on part of the South Common known as the Malandry Fields, just outside the City Bargates. The word is derived from the Norman French *Maladcrie*, meaning a leper home, and the hospital became known as the Lazar House, the name being taken from Lazarus, by tradition a leper. Remigius is supposed to have founded this institution and endowed it, though an inquisition in the reign of Edward III names Henry I as its founder. This king undoubtedly further endowed the hospital for the maintenance of ten outcast lepers, and gave it to the care of a warden and two chaplains, who were to say Mass for the souls of the king and the royal family.

King Henry II also made gifts to the hospital, and he claimed supreme control over the house. In 1281 the community appears to have included Sisters as well as Brethren, the former being strictly confined to their own house.

Though the building has disappeared, it is interesting to read the account of an alleged miracle in connection with

this hospital. Margaret Everard of Burgh was condemned and hanged for housing her son who was guilty of theft. Her body was taken to the hospital for burial, but when near her grave, she revived. A pardon was granted to her, and she served in the hospital for two years.

In 1456 this institution was joined to the great hospital of Burton Lazars, and now only the site remains.

The *Hospital of S. Giles* was probably founded by Remigius to provide for the rest and relief of pilgrims, and was built just outside the City. It belonged to the Augustinians and was under the care of three religious Brethren. In 1280, however, the Mastership was transferred to the Vicars Choral, and then the aged and infirm vicars were received into the institution.

On Wragby Road may still be seen a portion of a wall containing a doorway and windows which apparently formed part of the infirmary and chapel of this hospital.

The *Hospital of the Holy Sepulchre* founded about 1198 was built near S. Katherine's Priory and committed to the care of the Gilbertine Order by Bishop Robert de Chesney.

The *Hospital of S. Mary* is mentioned in records, but its site is unknown.

The *Friars* also built their houses and nursing institutions in various parts of the City.

The *Franciscans, or Grey Friars*, came to Lincoln about 1236. They established themselves in the south-east corner of the Roman city, on land near the old Guildhall which had been assigned to them. Here their Friary was erected by William de Beningworth, and they were apparently encouraged by Edward I, who gave them timber for their church, and later on made them a grant of money for provisions.

These Grey Friars, so-called from the colour of their habit and cowl, were very popular. They followed the rule of S. Francis, and one Friar Adam, we are told, had the spirit of S. Francis and fearlessly opposed the attack

on the Jews at that time. At the Dissolution of the Religious Houses these friars, we read, left Lincoln in 1539 as quietly as they came.

In 1568 their property came into the hands of Robert Monson, an eminent Lincoln lawyer, who later became a Judge of Common Pleas. He made structural alterations at his own cost, and established a free school, which in 1574 he gave to the Corporation.

Happily a portion of this old Friary, which apparently formed the choir of the church, is still preserved. The large chamber has a fine groined roof, the vaulting being supported by a row of central octagonal pillars with moulded capitals of early Decorated work. It is lit by side windows of single lights with two buttresses between them.

Over this is another chamber which is reached by an outside modern staircase. This room measures about 120 feet long and still retains part of its original barrel roof of oak rafters. In the south wall, near the east end, will be noticed the elegant double piscina, showing that this room was the chapel of the Friary and that Mass was said here. The east end originally had three lancet windows, and later on was pierced by a plain pointed window of three lights; over this is a 'vesica piscis' in the gable, which is surmounted by a decorated cross.

Recently these preserved portions of the old Friary have been carefully restored, and in May 1907 they were opened to the public as the City and County Museum. Many interesting relics of bygone Lincoln are here preserved and exhibited.

The *Austin Friars or Eremites* had their house, which was founded in 1270, in Newport, just outside the Roman boundary and on the east side of Ermine Street. No traces of their building now remain.

The *Friary of the Carmelites* or White Friars, founded in 1269, occupied a site on the east side of High Street near the present L.N.E.R. station and offices. The ancient building

of stone near the picturesque timbered houses in Akrill Passage, is believed to have formed part of this Friary.

The *Black Friars or Dominicans* were established in Broadgate. The Order, founded by S. Dominic, a Spaniard of Old Castile, wore a distinctive dress, a black cloak and hood over a white cassock. After the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, the site of this Friary was granted to John Bellows and John Broxholme, and all traces of the buildings have disappeared.

The *Friars of the Sack* were established in Lincoln by 1266.

MODERN INSTITUTIONS

Though all these old foundations have disappeared, new ones have come into being, worthily taking their place, so that Lincoln can be justly proud of her care for her citizens to-day, as in the past.

The *City Hospital* for infectious diseases and the Dawber Sanatorium for Lung Diseases are situated in Long Leys Road.

The *County Hospital* was founded in 1769 in the building on the slope of the hill, since connected with the Bishop's Hostel. In 1878 the present large building in Sewell Road was erected in the Renaissance style at a cost of £32,000, raised by subscriptions.

During recent years many additions and improvements have been made. In 1891 the building was much enlarged by the addition of a new out-patients' department, in 1914 a new home for the nurses was added, and further extensions were made in 1922 by the erection of an X-ray department and laboratories. In the following year more wards were added, and in 1932, on the advice of W. R. Purvis, D.S.O., a new wing was built. The hospital is now equipped with the most recent scientific apparatus for surgical and medical treatment, and during the year 1932 over 9,000 patients came under its care.

The *General Dispensary* founded in 1826 formerly occupied

buildings in Cornhill, but is now situated in Silver Street. This large building erected in the Renaissance style in 1879, provides consulting rooms and out-patients' rooms, also a residence for the medical officers. This institution does a great and necessary work in the City.

The *Lawn*, a private hospital, was founded in 1820 by voluntary subscriptions for the care of about one hundred patients. It is largely maintained by a voluntary board of the professional classes, and charitable assistance is given to deserving patients unable to meet the full cost of the treatment. The building is situated on the slope of the hill on the Carline Road.

The *Mental Hospital* at Bracebridge is the County Asylum. It stands on a healthy site on Bracebridge Heath at the top of Cross o' Cliff Hill.

Sister Swan's Nursing Home at Coldbath House is a home for the care of the aged.

The *Bromhead Institution* was established principally by Mrs. Bromhead, at the top of the Greestone Stairs in 1866. Later on the house in Nettleham Road was provided as an institute for nurses under whose care is the Bromhead Private Nursing Home, locally known as the 'Red House,' and the Bromhead Maternity Home known as 'The Uplands,' purchased in 1926.

The Red House was built in 1887 as a memorial to the late Mrs. Bromhead. It has been enlarged from time to time as the increasing needs demanded.

S. Hugh's Home for Boys situated in Newport, is a charitable institution under the care of the Church of England Society for Waifs and Strays.

The *S. Anne Bede Houses* in Sewell Road, near the Arboretum, were founded and built in 1874 as homes for fourteen women with limited means. They are now occupied by widows and women over sixty years of age, who have been recommended by the clergy of the parish in which they have lived for twenty years.

These charming homes were built from the designs of Pugin, and liberally endowed by the Rev. R. W. Sibthorp. Each house consists of two rooms and each occupant receives an allowance weekly, and a new cloak every fifth year. The beautiful little Chapel dedicated to S. Anne, has all its windows filled with stained glass, and also contains many brasses inscribed with the names of members of the Sibthorp family who were great benefactors to these homes.

The *Lincoln Diocesan Mission* in aid of the Deaf and Dumb has its headquarters at S. Mark's Church and Institute in Grantham Street. It was founded in 1895 for the instruction and pastoral care of the deaf and dumb in the diocese. It is under the direction of a chaplain and committee, with the Bishop of Lincoln as the president.

The Remand House or Lindum Lodge, a boys' home under the care of the Police Court Mission and Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, was opened in 1925 and is a very useful institution.

CHAPTER XIV

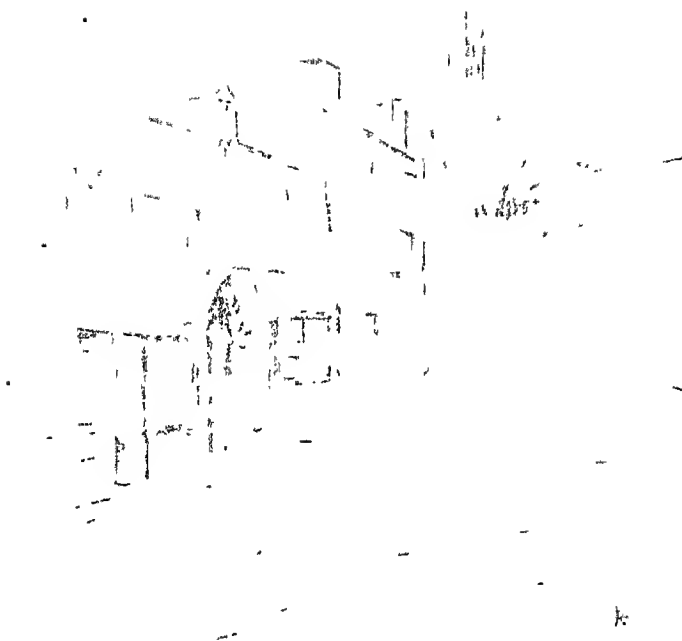
THE JEWS' HOUSES AND OTHER ANCIENT BUILDINGS

LINCOLN'S OLD HOUSES

AMONG Lincoln's many historic buildings, there are numerous examples of ancient domestic architecture, and, it is believed, the oldest inhabited house in Europe. This is 'The Jews' House' which stands on the western side of Steep Hill, opposite the space which was formerly the Bull Ring. It is a solid Norman building, erected at the end of the twelfth century, and has a beautifully moulded arched doorway. On either side is a round-headed Norman window, and above rises an external chimney, characteristic of the houses of that period.

On the right hand capital of the entrance the interstices of the carving form two oval hollows about three inches long, around which are small holes carefully drilled into the stone. It is suggested that these may have held a bracket containing the Mazuzah, a piece of parchment on which was inscribed the portions of Scripture, Deut. vi. 4-9, and xi. 13-21. The pious touched the Mazuzah when entering or leaving the house, and recited the words, 'May God keep my going out and my coming in from now on, and for ever more,' a custom still practised by many Jews in this country.

The original house was very solidly built on a simple plan, being only one room deep from back to front. The outer massive walls, two feet nine inches thick, still stand, and in the upper room the large arched fireplace is a very interesting feature. The cellar was the traditional scene of the



THE JEWS' HOUSE AND STEEP HILL



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THE HOUSE OF AARON THE JEW

To face page 197

crucifixion of the little Christian boy, S. Hugh, and the basement contains the well into which the body was thrown. It is interesting to find that this well, now covered over with timber, is still fed by the same springs as in the time of little Saint Hugh.

In the Middle Ages it appears to have been a common occurrence for reports to be spread of the Jews torturing and crucifying a Christian boy. Chaucer tells a similar story in his *Prioress's Tale* and breaks off to apostrophize little Hugh as follows:

‘O yonge Hew of Lincoln, slain also
With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
For it n’ is but a littel while ago.’

In 1290 this house was the home of a Jewess named Belaset of Wallingford, who was in that year found guilty of clipping the king’s coin. In accordance with the law she was hanged, and her house was confiscated; this eventually became the property of the Dean and Chapter. At present it is inhabited by a dealer in antiques, and having recently been thoroughly restored, it is now preserved to show us what a Norman house in the old City was like.

The Jews’ Court.—This, too, has a very long history for it was probably built during the period 1170–80. Part of the building was formerly used as a synagogue. The doorway facing the street opens to a passage leading to a courtyard and was the common entrance to the tenements into which the building was divided.

The Jews’ Court recently became the property of the Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, and as a result of this, it has been carefully restored.

The House of Aaron the Jew stands higher up the Steep Hill. This solid structure was built of blocks of stone in the early part of the twelfth century and it has all the strength of a Norman fortress. The arched doorway, the external chimney above, the deeply set Norman windows, are fine examples of Norman domestic architecture,

but the striking feature lies in the strength and solidity of the building, with walls three and four feet thick to enclose and secure the treasures of Aaron, the great financier.

The plan of the interior is rather complicated. The house comprises a basement with barrel vaulting, the ground floor which was used for storage, the first floor used as the living-rooms of the family, and the attic, used as sleeping rooms for the servants. A long passage runs through the house from east to west, but the building is curiously divided into narrow passages and dark rooms both upstairs and downstairs, and cupboards and recesses three feet deep are cut in the solid stone partitions. The floors are made of cement, and some of the steps leading down to the cellar are still to be seen. On one of these the figures 1107 cut in the stone are distinctly visible.

Fortunately much is known of the activities of the famous occupier of this house from whom it takes its name. Aaron the Jew, the greatest financier in Europe at the time, lived here in the twelfth century, but no records exist to tell us when or where he was born, or under what circumstances he started his career as a financier in Lincoln. We first hear of him in 1165-6 when King Henry II was to pay him £29 8s. 10d., a sum corresponding to about £1,500 of our present day money, so one may conclude that Aaron was then in a large way of business. Other documents show that Aaron had an organized system of agents who resided in all parts of England, and who were authorized to advance money or to collect it in his name, for Hebrew receipts prove that the king paid money to agents of Aaron in many counties.

His business apparently was conducted on an enormous scale, so that when he died in 1186, he had debtors not only in all parts of England but also on the Continent. His business transactions seem to have been especially with abbeys, monasteries, and other religious houses, for since Christians were forbidden to lend money at interest, no

great enterprise could be undertaken by them unless they themselves could finance it.

Consequently the Jews were the great money lenders, and at this stage of industrial development, their assistance was most useful. The rates of interest they charged were high for they had no competition and little security, and it must be remembered that the king claimed a share in each transaction, also their very existence depended on the Royal protection.

Under these conditions Aaron of Lincoln assisted in building no fewer than sixteen abbeys and monasteries, besides other sacred buildings, and this rich Jew was evidently concerned in all kinds of business transactions and building schemes. Not only did he assist in building abbeys, but also in helping abbots to acquire lands, and to buy cattle and fodder, and he also even acted as pawnbroker, for we know that the precious plate of Lincoln Minster was received 'in pawn' by him.

Thus he increased his store of wealth so that he was by far the richest man in England and perhaps in the whole of Europe.

However, on his death, in accordance with the law of the land, his enormous property fell to the king. The actual treasures stored in his house were indeed a great windfall to the Royal treasury, but this was small compared with the amount of debts due to him. So great was the amount that a new branch of the treasury had to be established, known as the Exchequer of Aaron, and special clerks were appointed to manage it. The actual money and treasures, however, were sent by the King to Normandy for safety, but this treasure ship, we are told, went down in mid-Channel with all its riches.

The Exchequer of Aaron, however, was very busy for some time. Half a million pounds of money of present-day value were collected during the reign of Richard I, and in the following reign many debts were still unpaid. Among

the names of debtors we find the Earls of Leicester and Chester, the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of the Hospitallers, the Bishops of Bangor and Lincoln, the Sheriff of Norfolk and the Archdeacon of Suffolk, while a large sum of money was owing by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Unfortunately no records exist to tell us much about the habits or appearance of Aaron of Lincoln, who must have been a man of exceptional ability in his day, but who could find no outlet for his genius except in this money-lending business which undoubtedly satisfied a great want in that age, and enabled much to be done which otherwise could not have been accomplished.

The remains of his house, however, still stand as firm as a rock. We may note that it occupied a site within easy reach of the Castle and the sheriffs who would be obliged to defend him and his treasures.

The *Palace of John of Gaunt*, fourth son of Edward III, was situated on the west side of High Street in the lower part of the City. Very little of the original Palace now remains, though at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was still a handsome building. Much of the mansion, however, was destroyed in 1737, 1783 and 1849, so that now the northern portion has been entirely removed and the site is occupied by other buildings. The southern part, though much altered and modernized, still stands to remind us that it was formerly a portion of a royal residence. The oriel window now preserved in the Castle gateway was rescued from the ruins of this mansion in 1849.

John of Gaunt died in 1399, and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this residence was occupied by the famous Sutton family.

John of Gaunt's Stables is the popular name given to the ancient Merchants' Guildhall, which stands on the east side of High Street nearly opposite the remains of the Palace. The building we see to-day is the remnant of the Hall of S. Mary's Guild, the largest and most important of the City

gilds. It was built about 1150 in the Transitional Norman style, in the form of a small court, and is said to be 'probably the most valuable and extensive range of buildings of the twelfth century that we have in England.' But a mere fragment of the original building now remains as witness of its former glories. Probably the most interesting portion is the front which possesses a rich cornice and an archway of Transitional work with tooth ornament. Though the upper storey has been removed, the solidity of this Norman building is still shown in the lower storey, lit by narrow loop holes and supported by flat buttresses. Inside the courtyard stands a Norman dwelling house, having recessed windows of two lights divided by midwall shafts, and still retaining its original fireplace.

A handsome Queen Anne House may be seen on the eastern side of High Street between the two railway crossings; this was formerly the city residence of the Sibthorp family.

Some house in almost every street shows a trace of the Lincoln of old time, and also many inns still exist which combine old-world charm with modern efficiency. The Harlequin Inn on Steep Hill, built in the fourteenth century, claimed to be the oldest in the country, but it is now converted into a shop and occupied by a dealer in antiques.

CHAPTER XV

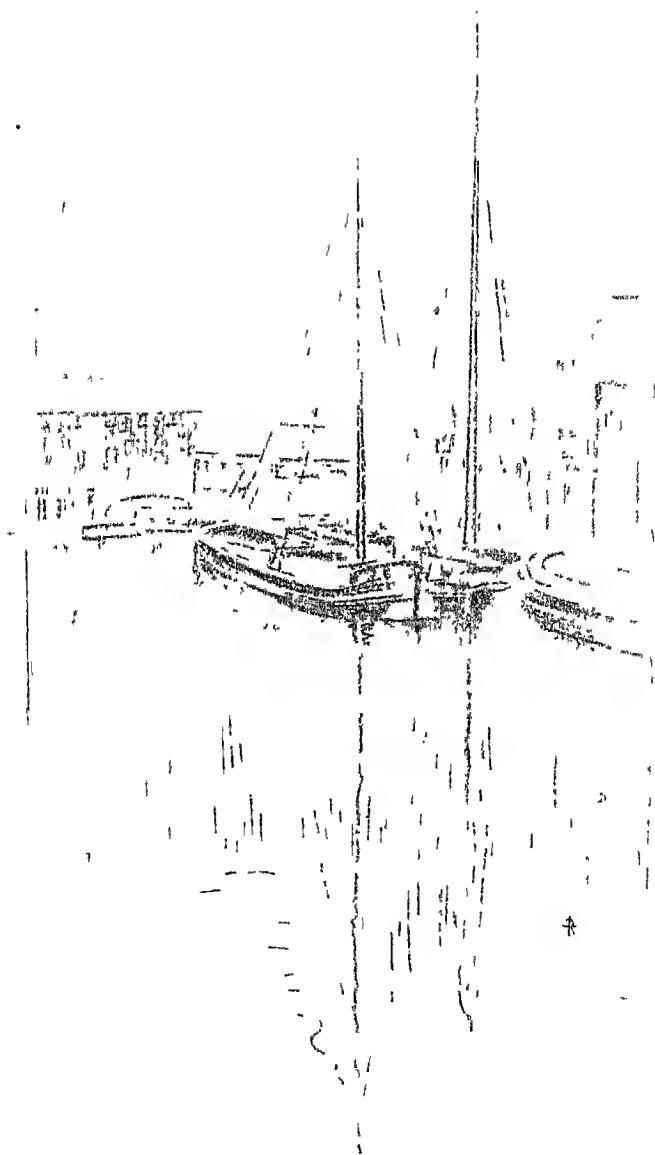
THE CIVIC LIFE OF LINCOLN

FROM very early days Lincoln has been a self-governing municipality. During the Roman occupation of Britain it was a 'Colonia'; in Saxon times it was perhaps the most important town in our land, exercising its own rights and minting its own coins; under the Danish rule in England Lincoln was one of the Five Burghs, and consequently had its own liberties, customs, and laws.

When the great survey of England was taken by William the Conqueror and Domesday Book compiled in 1086, Lincoln was a City of importance with 910 inhabited houses or mansions, a population of about 5,000, and was governed by twelve lawmen. At that time the City was assessed to pay a rent to the Crown of £100, an amount equal to about £3,500 of our present-day money; this was collected by three provosts.

Under the Norman kings local administration and jurisdiction developed according to the feudal rules, but in the reign of King John the citizens were allowed to meet weekly in 'Bure-watemot,' or Burgh-ward-mote for the purpose of local government, and this assembly resembled, in some measure, the present Common Council.

Later on, two citizens were chosen as representatives and sent to the King's Council at Westminster, and a very definite development came in the civic jurisdiction about 1206 when a Mayor was elected. In the *Pipe Rolls* of this date we find a reference to the first Mayor of Lincoln who was appropriately named Adam, and another record states that Adam was to be Mayor as long as he pleased the King, but in 1216 we learn that he was excommunicated. The



BRAYFORD



Mayor was apparently superior in authority to the provosts, who later on became known as the bailiffs.

With the growth of the trade, population and progress of the City, we also see an advance in self-government, and officials acquitting new powers to keep pace with the times. In the thirteenth century, when Lincoln reached its zenith as a seaport, being surpassed in trade only by London, Boston, and Southampton, and was made a Staple town for wool, leather, and skins, many new officials were needed.

We then find that twelve men besides the Mayor were chosen to be magistrates. Two bailiffs replaced the provosts, a ponderator was appointed who supervised the weighing of the articles of the Staple, four men were chosen to have custody of the tolls and profits, and two trustworthy men to act as constables in each parish. The Bure-waremot was held weekly in the Guildhall for hearing local pleas, and was presided over by the Mayor and bailiffs.

Unfortunately this increased prosperity was of short duration, for various natural causes brought about the removal of the Staple to Boston in 1369, and consequently the gradual decline of the trade and economic importance of the City was inevitable.

Lincoln was well governed and law-abiding, but with the decline of trade wealthy merchants and rich citizens began to leave the City. Men, whose livelihood depended upon the Staple, complained of the financial strain; craftsmen, who worked in the local industries, became unemployed, and soon the increasing poverty of the citizens caused the Mayor and Council to appeal to the Crown for some remission of taxation.

Thus, with the removal of the Staple, various officials were no longer required, so changes were made in the government of the City. By the Charter of 1409 two sheriffs were elected to replace the two bailiffs. Four chamberlains and four constables were chosen, and one of

each was placed over each ward. The Mayor was also to have three servants, namely the sword-bearer, the mace-sergeant, and the bellman, but we find that in 1427 allowance was made for two servants only—the sword-bearer and the mace-sergeant—and a grant of 8s. was made for the livery of each of the three minstrels.

Other public officers were the sheriffs' clerk, three sheriffs' officers, four keepers of the Keys of the Chest; three keepers of the Keys of the Pyx; searchers of tanned leather and searchers for those not attending sermons. Later on the churchwardens of each parish had the unpleasant duty of presenting offenders to the Mayor each Monday, but in 1572 a fine of 2d. was imposed on all absentees from the Sunday sermon in the Minster, and a constable was appointed to search them out.

By the Charter of Charles I in 1628, the Common Council was established, consisting of the Mayor, twelve aldermen, four coroners, four chamberlains, two sheriffs, and forty-five to forty-nine common councillors. Lincoln was also represented by two Members in Parliament. Under this system the City was governed until 1835.

The Corporation as now constituted consists of a Mayor, seven aldermen, and twenty-one councillors, and under the Local Government Act of 1888, Lincoln was declared a County Borough.

An account has been given of the various trade guilds and their industrial importance; they also provided much of the social life of the City. The Gild Pageants were the chief social events of the Middle Ages, and the City records have many references to the shows and pageants, particularly those of the Gild of S. Anne, during the years 1519–1568. This gild had many members, for in 1519 the authorities forced every able man and woman in the City to join and to pay a subscription of 4d. Moreover, those engaged in each trade belonging to this gild were compelled to produce their pageants under a penalty of £10, and

in 1521 one John Brown, an alderman, complained that as the plague was rampant in the City he was unable to get such garments and 'honourments' as should be in the pageant procession of S. Anne's Gild. The plays and pageants were controlled by the common council, and continued until the accession of Edward VI.

During the years of the plague the pageants may have been less frequent, but in 1554 the various craftsmen were ordered to bring forth their pageants as accustomed, and all were to be contributors as assessed, to the plays of the Gilds of S. Anne and Corpus Christi.

Other gilds also entertained the City for we read that, on March 4th, 1564, the Gild of S. Luke was to give a play of some Bible story for two days in the summer, and in 1566 the stage play of the *Story of Toby* was performed during the Whitsuntide holiday.

Public amusements in the Middle Ages were found chiefly in athletic sports, in bull baiting, and cock-fighting, and in entertainments by official musicians or waits. These entertainers originated in the gild pageants, and annually entertained the public from the Feast of All Hallows to Candlemas. Their wages were paid from the Common Chamber and as far back as 1422 an entry shows that an allowance of 8s. and red livery was granted to the Mayor's three 'Minstrels,' and by 1480 it was the custom for the Mayor and his officers—the 'Waits'—who wore a chain with a badge or a cross, to proclaim Christmas. We notice, too, that they provided music in the Mayor's procession, and also at other civic functions. A manuscript in the City's collection dated 1658 tells us that John Ball, the elder, William Deeping, Simon Browne, and Thomas Compton, were to be the official waits or musicians of the City. We also find an entry in the Chamberlain Rolls of Pageants recording a payment to the Newark waits and the City waits, for whom ale, wine, and candles were provided when the king came to the City in 1695.

In 1725 it was agreed to advertise in the *Stamford Mercury* for two waits, and we read that in 1736 one of the waits—Michael Crawthorne by name—was discharged because he had forsaken the religion of the Church of England and joined that of the Church of Rome. An entry of 1756 records that the salary of the waits was to be increased from 30s. to 42s. yearly.

Many of the civic laws of Lincoln in the Middle Ages are interesting. A watchful eye was kept for any profiteering, unjust dealing, and trading during forbidden hours. Detailed regulations were drawn up for the various craftsmen, and their time and wages were fixed. Barbers, for example, were to charge $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for shaving a poor person, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for a priest, and Sunday shaving was forbidden. Strict rules were laid down concerning the sale of beer, and for the prevention of loitering and drinking 'strong and mighty' ale, by the craftsmen of the City, in the ale houses. To enforce these rules the Mayor and Justices of Peace appointed honest inhabitants to be common brewers, and allowed them to sell their ale by dozens to retailers, or 'tipplers,' who again could sell half-penny or pennyworths, or pots, to be consumed off the premises. The price was fixed by the Mayor, and no beer was sold during divine service.

Strict observance of Sunday and holy days was enforced. In 1553 it was ordered that no baker or brewer should bear or send any bread or ale to customers on Sundays or other principal festival days, under a penalty of 12d., unless by licence of the Mayor.

Very strict measures were taken in 1559 when every victualler had to close his shop on Sundays and other holy days and allow no servant or other person to remain in his house, at play or idle, during the time of divine service, on pain for every offence of 6s. 8d.

In 1572 a constable was appointed to search out persons who were absent from the Sunday services in the Minster

without a licence from the Mayor. Such offenders were fined 2d.

In 1584 Mr. Jermyn, a learned man and virtuous preacher, was employed by the Mayor at £20 to preach on Sunday afternoons and Wednesday mornings, to teach the people their duty towards God and towards Her Majesty the Queen. One half of every household above twelve years of age was to be at the sermon every Sunday morning, one from every house in the afternoon, and on festival days and every Wednesday, upon pain of 20d. on Sundays and 12d. on other days. All tradesmen were to have their shop doors and windows closed all Sunday, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. Innkeepers, however, were allowed to serve strangers 'coming urgently.'

It is very interesting to read of the care which was taken for the general cleanliness of the City. In the days of pestilence it was most important that no rubbish or decaying organic matter should be left in the highways, and cause a nuisance and danger to the public health, so in 1538 a common carrier was appointed to carry away all 'such vylde stuff as lieth in the streets every week, every man giving him for his labour as they may agree.' Later on, in 1547, rules were drawn up for the jurisdiction of each alderman over buildings, street cleaning and paving in his ward. A few years later a notice was issued that the streets were to be paved throughout the City, and every man had to pave against his own house and ground. Various offenders, however, were brought to justice. In 1584 Alderman Hodshone was to be disfranchised, if, within a month, he did not alter the course of his sewage so that the refuse from his swine did not flow into the river, and a month later this same alderman was ordered to attend to the filth from his brewery as well as from his swine.

An order was issued in 1604 that no citizen should pour soap suds in the street, but cast the same in the back lanes, upon pain of 10s. for every offence, and three years later a

scavenger was appointed to carry away dust and sweepings from the houses *twice* a week.

But a wonderful street improvement came in 1729, when the City was illuminated by six lamps, and as many more as the Mayor and Aldermen thought necessary, but in 1790 a petition was made for an Act of Parliament for lighting the City more effectively. Electricity has now largely taken the place of gas for street lighting.

Consideration was given to the houses in the City. It was decreed in 1540 that no house should be pulled down unless another was to be built, and in 1636 a very strict measure was enforced to prevent building small cottages and converting stables or barns into dwelling-houses. Such habitations, it was thought, would only encourage idle and beggarly people, and would be a danger in time of pestilence. Many houses had timbered roofs and straw-thatch, and fires were frequent. Fire engines were yet undeveloped, but in 1562 four hooks and iron clamps, and thirty leather cans, were provided for the public to extinguish fires.

Through the many ups and downs in her history Lincoln has always shown great care for the sick and poor but she has been no haven for the idle. There are several entries in the City Records referring to the duty of paid officials of searching out the unemployed and of offering an occupation to the willing workers, but levying a fine on the idle, or turning them from the City.

In 1547 regulations were drawn up for the Aldermen to exercise their jurisdiction, and to expel all vagabonds, to punish all unlicensed beggars, and those indulging in unlawful games. The following year all impotent and poor people, beggars and idle persons, and all children above five years of age, were to be examined, so that all capable of work might be given employment. Further, in 1560 an official, John Manning, was appointed with a salary of 8s. yearly, and a livery of cloth, to search out

the idle and the poor dwelling in and resorting to the City.

Owing to the dissolution of the religious houses which were numerous along the Witham valley, Lincoln became infested by beggars, and later on the justices were ordered to send warrants to all petty constables, to apprehend all vagabonds and wandering persons, and examine all strangers and travellers to see that they were free from infection. Vagrants we are told were a nuisance, for all were given to pilfering, taking corn growing in the fields and milking cows without the consent of their owners. The rogues too were enemies to the Commonwealth for they carried false news and disease, and were non-producing members of the community. Consequently it was a special duty of the Constable to arrest rogues and to see that 'they were whipped until the back was bloody,' and eventually it became necessary for watch to be kept at Lincoln by eight armed men.

Charity, however, was frequently extended to those in distress. In 1557 much relief was given to those suffering from the plague, and also to the poor, while in 1611 it was decreed that Freemen who had not paid to the relief of those stricken with plague were to be disfranchised. Every person with the disease had to stay indoors, and relief from the aldermen of 4d. weekly was brought to them.

Practical sympathy was also extended to the aged. In 1660 Aldress Bartholomew, widow, who was very poor and about eighty years of age, received an allowance of 6s. 8d. monthly.

Encouragement, however, was given to the poor who were willing and able to work. In 1615 a wool and spinning school was established for the poor, and a marshal was appointed to go daily from parish to parish to bring wandering and begging persons to work in the wool industry.

There were, moreover, exceptional facilities for education open to the working classes, provided by the cathedral school and by chantry priests, and places were given to sons

of villeins, some of whom became chaplains or even bishops, as in the case of Bishop Grosseteste.

The poor were also allowed to glean in the fields, though strict regulations for gleaners became necessary as farmers complained of great loss by them. No person was allowed to glean in the field between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. or before the crop was gathered; moreover, gleanings were to be tied in handfuls and not put into a sack or a poke. On the other hand, in accordance with ancient custom, the poor were to have a chance to glean before any swine, sheep, or cattle were put into the field.

In the Middle Ages prison laws were less lenient than they are to-day, and the method of punishment for wrong doing may be gathered from the entries in the Chamberlain Rolls. The usual punishments ordered by the Sessions in the latter half of the seventeenth century were branding, whipping, setting in the stocks, the payment of a fine or imprisonment. An account entered in 1685 reads 'For making a new ducking stool 55s. 8d.' and in 1699 an entry shows the purchase of an engine for burning prisoners in the cheek, 10s.

Many entries tell us of Lincoln's loyalty to her Sovereign and her liberal hospitality to strangers. Distinguished guests were received with great ceremony, as we note by the account which has been given of the reception by the City of various kings including Henry VII, Henry VIII and his Queen, Catherine Howard, and of the elaborate preparations made in 1617 for the visit of James I.

In 1527 we read that a tun of Gascon wine was granted to the Mayor for the entertainment of strangers, and in 1695 a bill of £11 3s. od. was incurred in giving hospitality to the king's surveyor-general, the king's coachman, and the king's cook, when the king came to the City.

In 1699 the sum of £18 4s. 9d. was spent in meat, drink, and wine with several other items for a dinner given to the Bishop of Lincoln.

The Mayor and his brethren also frequently made generous gifts to their distinguished visitors. In 1461 a gift of 12 pike, 12 tench and 12 bream was made to King Edward IV on his visit to the City, and in 1486, 12 great pike, 12 great tench, 12 great salmon and 12 great eels were presented to King Henry VII, while the following year this same royal guest accepted a gift of 3 dozen green geese, 1 dozen fat capons, 4-dozen great fat pike, 2 fat oxen and one score of fat muttons.

A present of 2 pike, 2 tench, 2 eels, and 2 bream was also made to the Bishop of Lincoln on his arrival in 1548, and on other occasions Lincoln extended her generosity to the Duchess of Suffolk, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Rutland, the Duke of Northumberland and other nobility, by similar gifts of birds and fish. In 1553 the Earl of Rutland received another present, this time a tun of claret wine for his goodness heretofore and after to be showed. Two years later a gift of fish was made to the Bishop in recognition of his kindness in writing a favourable letter to the Lord Chancellor.

The Judge, too, was not forgotten. In 1561 he was presented with 1 pike, 2 bream, and 2 great eels, and later on, the Judge of Assize, the Bishop, the Earl of Rutland, and other nobles were again favoured with similar presents.

Lincoln's loyalty to her King was also shown by the celebrations for his birthday. On May 22nd, 1669, divine service was held in the Cathedral, this was followed by a dinner and a fine of 2s. 6d. was levied on 'all neglecting,' while at the Coronation of George II we are told that a treat was given to all citizens and 'the upper and lower conduits were to run wine for the Corporation,' and a hogshead of ale was given to the common people.

In these olden days it was the custom for the Mayor and Corporation to welcome distinguished guests at the cross which marked the southern boundary of the City, and stood on the hill now known as Cross o' Cliff Hill. In 1660 the

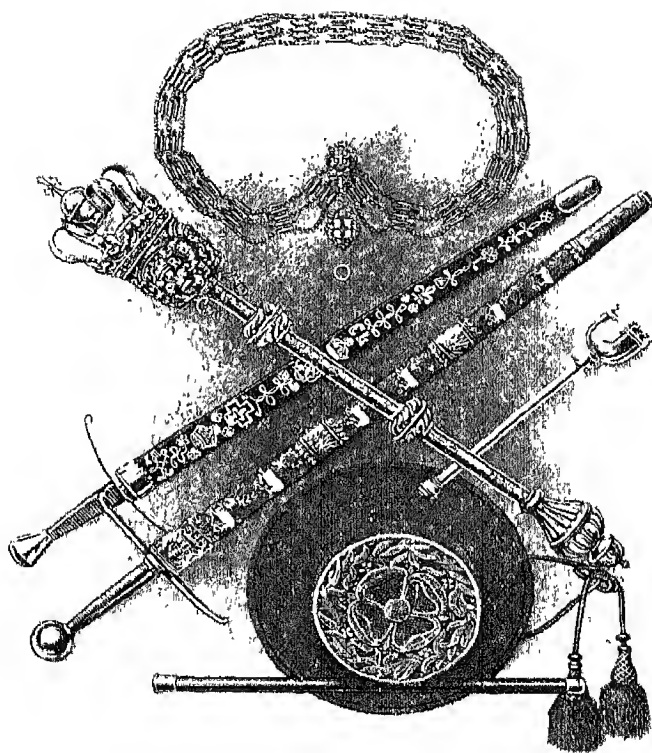
cross was removed by some ill-disposed person and replaced by a stone. It was here in 1445 that the Mayor met Henry VI and his bride, Margaret of Anjou, and 172 years later, in 1617, James I was received with much ceremony.

Sport in the Middle Ages was a great feature. The Bull Ring was an attraction for some citizens, cock-fighting, too, gave pleasure to others, while hunting with hounds was restricted to the Mayor, aldermen, and those who had been sheriffs, since apparently these were the only people who were allowed to keep hounds within the City or its suburbs.

In the seventeenth century, Lincoln became famous in the sporting world for its horse-racing. This was much encouraged by James I who in 1617 assisted in a great horse race on the Heath for a cup, and in 1635, the Mayor and aldermen were given permission to allow a race for a cup. A further development came in 1669 when "certain persons of honour and quality, out of their respect for the City, desired one or two horse races annually for ever." It was then proposed that the Race Course should be on the Heath, and that the races should be conducted according to regulations drawn up by the trustees who were Lady Dorothy Stanhope, the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Exeter, and others. It was also agreed that horses should run for a lesser and greater plate, and to meet the cost, the City gave £20. Later on in 1800 another gift of plate and money was made towards the horse races. The races are now held twice a year—in March and October—on the West Common where the grand stand was erected in 1886. The Lincoln Handicap, the first great race of the season, is held in March and is attended by people from all parts of the country.

Mention has already been made of the annual fairs which are an attraction to many of the citizens and people in the county.

Lincoln has several common grounds, providing pleasant walks away from the busy streets of the City. Among



THE CIVIC INSIGNIA

other privileges enjoyed by resident freemen of the City is the right to graze three head of cattle each, on the large West Common. Householders, who are not freemen, are allowed to pasture one each. The Arboretum, formerly called Monks Leys, was also devoted to the use of the freemen. It comprises about fourteen acres on the hill side, and being now under the care of the Corporation, is planted with trees and shrubs. The south or Canwick Common has an area of about 206 acres, and the west or Carholme Common comprises about 250 acres.

Brayford, an extensive sheet of water, is formed by the confluence of the Witham and the Fosdyke which joins this river with the River Trent, and provides a refreshing and interesting type of scenery in the heart of this old City.

The Guildhall already mentioned is built over the Stonebow, and is the meeting place of the Mayor and Corporation. In the old council room, with panelled walls and open timbered roof, are preserved three large ancient chests containing many old records of the City.

The City Arms—argent on a cross gules, a fleur-de-lys or—i.e., a golden fleur-de-lys on a red cross superimposed on a castle front with a silver background—date back at least five centuries. Simple and dignified, it is easily interpreted. In the white silver foundation is the symbol of purity, justice and gentleness. The red cross is that of S. George, the emblem of valour, the lily symbolizes reverence to the Holy Virgin, the Patron Saint of the City, and the Saint to whom the Cathedral is dedicated.

The *Insignia of the City* are most precious and interesting. The large silver mace of the reign of Charles II is perhaps the most valued treasure, then there are a smaller mace, which dates from 1600, and two swords. The Cap of Maintenance, of crimson velvet with silver embroidery, dates from the fifteenth century; the Mayor's Chain from 1849, the Mayor's Thumb Ring from 1578, and the Mayor's Staff from 1587.

The large silver mace which dates from 1661 measures about fifty inches long and weighs 137 ounces. The ornamented handle bears the City Arms, the large bowl surmounted by a crown is adorned with a rose, thistle, harp and fleur-de-lys, and bears the initials C.R. This mace is the one now carried before the Mayor on state occasions.

The small mace of silver, nineteen inches long, weighs about thirty-eight ounces, and dates from 1600. The round head bears the royal arms of King Charles II and the shields of the City Arms, S. George's Cross, and the Irish Harp.

Lincoln is also the proud possessor of two civic swords of state. The older one is believed to have been the personal sword of Richard II, and was presented to the City by him on his visit in 1387. The blade measures nearly three and a half feet long, the hilt and pommel overlaid with silver, bear the royal arms of England and France, and round the edges are roses and fleur-de-lys.

The second or 'Lent Sword' as it is called, has been a weapon of war, and was probably presented by Henry VII in 1487, after his victory at Stoke over the Earl of Lincoln.

The Lent sword is carried before the Mayor when attending church during Lent, and when he goes to a funeral. The two-edged blade measures nearly three feet long; the pommel and guard have been blackened to accord with the solemn occasions for which it is used.

The *Cap of Maintenance* of maroon velvet, embroidered in silver with the Tudor rose, has a long cord and tassels and is of fifteenth century date and style. There is also another hat with a broad brim, lofty crown, and tassels, which is worn by the sword bearer when preceding the Mayor in procession, and dates from 1734.

The *Mayor's Thumb Ring* inscribed on the inside 'Omnis caro fenum es,' is the symbol which 'weds the Mayor to the City.' The grammatical construction is not clear, but the inscription is evidently to remind him that, in spite of his

high office, he is only human, and like the rest of mankind, will perish as the grass. In 1747 this ring was stolen and subsequently sold in London. It was eventually recovered, and the thief, who was also guilty of murder, was executed. The ring is very popular among the children of Lincoln, for, by ancient custom, its appearance in any school in the City authorizes a holiday.

The *Mayor's Staff of Office* measures twenty-eight and a half inches long and dates from 1587. It is made of Brazil wood, and the silver cap bears the Arms of the City and of the See of Lincoln.

The *Mayor's Chain of Office* is a very fine gold one, commenced in 1849 and added to annually. The badge attached to it in 1884 bears the Arms of the City.

The *Mayor's Seal* is an impression of one used in the thirteenth century, which is still preserved in the British Museum. It is a representation of the Blessed Virgin standing crowned, holding the Holy Child in her left arm and the orb in her right hand. The spirit of the design is identical with that of the seal of the Diocese, both being an acknowledgement of the Blessed Virgin as the Patron Saint of the City.

CHAPTER XVI

THE INDUSTRIES OF LINCOLN

LINCOLN has been an important centre of trade from very early times; the great highways running north and south, as well as those going east and west, formed a junction at this City, while water transport offered still greater advantages, for the River Witham flowed eastward at the foot of the hill, giving the shortest sea passage to what were, for centuries, the great trading centres of Europe.

Naturally the trade was for the most part in local products; the Cistercian Monks had led the way in growing fine wool for the Flemish looms, so raw wool was for a long time the leading export, and on the limestone hills around Lincoln thousands of sheep were reared. Later on, when England began to do her own weaving of the finer cloths, weavers were foremost among the craftsmen of the City. It has been previously stated that when Domesday Book was compiled in 1086 Lincoln was evidently a prosperous City, and paid to the Crown £100 a year equal to about £3,500 of our present money. It possessed a mint, and this, too, paid a yearly sum of £75, an amount exceeding that paid by any other mint in the country.

Apparently the trade of Lincoln increased during the reigns of the early Norman kings, for by 1160 the assessment had increased to £200, and this money was raised by the citizens chiefly out of the local industries.

The scarlet and green cloth woven at Lincoln became famous, and the City developed a large cloth-market, so that by 1194, it was wealthy enough to purchase a Charter from Richard I and thus to obtain complete self-government.

The mint, too, was a great source of profit both to the

City and to the King. This appears to have been long established, for it is now believed that money was coined at Lincoln during the Roman occupation of Britain, since a large number of Roman coins were found near the Guildhall with their brick matrices, while the portion of Roman masonry called 'Mint Wall' may probably be part of a building where once a mint existed.

Lincoln certainly had a mint in Saxon times, for many coins struck in the reign of King Alfred have been found, bearing the name 'Lincolnia.' Coins also exist of the reigns of King Edwig and all succeeding monarchs down to the Norman Conquest, and also of William II, Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II. Though none have been found of the time of Richard I and John, records prove that the mint was still maintained. Moreover, coins issued from Lincoln mint during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I are still in existence, but there is no certain evidence of any coinage after that date.

It is interesting to note that in those far-off days, when craftsmen sat in their homes to spin their wool and weave their cloth, they found it necessary to unite in brotherhoods or guilds to protect their interests and safeguard their craft. So guilds were established and charters confirming their rules and privileges were granted. By these the property and position of each craft were secured, and unfair competition was prevented.

At this time the district around Lincoln was producing wheat for food and barley for beer, and rich crops of grass grew on the limestone soil to feed the flocks of sheep which furnished wool, the basis of wealth in medieval England. Numerous monasteries established along the Witham also owned large flocks of sheep, so that Lincoln became a busy market for corn, wool, and agricultural products.

But there was a standing difficulty in the means of transport for these bulky commodities; the roads were often impassable on account of the floods, so that a large

proportion of the goods had to be conveyed by water. The Fossdyke, an artificial canal probably first cut by the Romans for the purpose of trade, joined the Witham at Lincoln with the Trent at Torkesey; this became an important waterway and provided direct communication between Yorkshire, the Midlands, and the North Sea. The Witham, too, became a very busy river, for merchants and goods could pass up the Humber, along the Trent and Fossdyke to the Witham and North Sea. Boston, the port of Lincoln, stood at the mouth of the river facing the Netherlands, and consequently rich foreign merchants landed at this port, and sailed up the River Witham to Lincoln, where many of them established themselves and built warehouses. The City thus became such a great commercial centre that William of Malmesbury, writing in the time of Henry I, speaks of Lincoln as one of the most populous places in England, 'an Emporium of men coming by land and sea.'

But Lincoln has had her periods of prosperity and periods of depression. During the battles between Stephen and Matilda, the citizens suffered great hardships, and we read that on one occasion no food was left in the district.

On the other hand Lincoln has experienced very prosperous times, especially in the thirteenth century. The woollen industry developed and a large trade was established. Flemish, Italian and other foreign merchants came to buy wool and soon so much smuggling, to avoid customs duties, was carried on, that strict rules were necessary. Eventually to prevent this unfair trading, and as Lincoln held a favourable commercial position with the Continental trading ports, it was made one of the Staple towns for wool, leather, and skins. The advantages of being a Staple were many. All wool from the eastern and midland counties was sent to Lincoln to be weighed, sold, and assessed for the customs duty. Merchants and producers were compelled to bring their goods to the Staple town, for there only could these products be bought and sold.

Consequently the trade of the City rapidly increased, rich merchants settled there and large sums were derived from tolls and dues. Wool for export was weighed, sold, and certified at the Staple, and then conveyed along the Witham to Boston where export customs were levied, and 'four discreet men' had the custody of the profits.

At this time all the foreign trade of England was eastward with Europe, so the Staple at Lincoln increased the importance of Boston which soon became the first port in England.

Local industries, too, were encouraged by home products being safeguarded, for it was forbidden to use cloth not made in England, Ireland, and Wales on pain of forfeiture, only the King, Queen, nobles, and priests being exempt from this restriction.

In the reign of Edward III the trade and industries of the City were still encouraged, and in 1327 the King confirmed by Charter the privilege enjoyed by the Mayor and citizens of holding markets on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday each week. Permission was also given to hold an annual fair which began on the Feast of S. Botolph (June 17th) and continued to that of S. Peter and S. Paul (June 29th). Lincoln then was assessed to pay a yearly sum of £180 to the Crown.

In a Charter dated 1361 it is interesting to read the customary market tolls levied at Lincoln. For every horse bought or sold one penny, for every ox one half-penny, for every cart two pence, for twenty-four two-year-old sheep one penny, and for every quarter of corn one penny.

Wide powers were exercised by the Mayor of the town and the Constable of the Staple, the latter being elected by both English and foreign merchants. The prices for different kinds of wool and other commodities were decided by them, and in 1362, we read that the Justices were informed that these two officials had jurisdiction over all merchants, their families, and servants coming to the Staple and all things belonging to the Staple; and they were to exercise

their authority according to the law of merchants and not by the common law of England.

But even during the time of Lincoln's greatest prosperity, trade was hampered by the difficulty of keeping navigation along the Fossdyke unobstructed.¹

The Witham too was a sluggish river and easily silted up; thus transport from the Trent to Boston was greatly hindered. Larger boats also came into use and these were unable to pass up the Witham. Finally the difficulties of transport became so great that in 1369 the Staple was transferred from Lincoln to Boston.

This change greatly increased the trade and importance of Boston, but it was a severe blow to the commercial life of Lincoln. Trade at once began to decline, rich merchants left the City and made their homes in Boston, so that much distress among the poor followed.

The prosperity of Lincoln, however, had already received a severe check through the ravages of the Black Death in 1349. Labour was scarce; in the district near Lincoln cattle were left unattended in the fields and perished, corn was left unharvested, and this scarcity of labour caused wages to rise generally, yet the conditions of the labourer were very miserable.

From time to time throughout the fifteenth century the Mayor and citizens of Lincoln sent petitions to the King, complaining of the decay of trade and the poverty of the citizens. Details of these petitions and of the assistance granted will be found in the historical section. It is difficult to ascertain how far these complaints were well founded, but it is certain that the population diminished, for while in 1377 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 5,000 and

¹The Fossdyke was Crown property until the time of James I, who, finding it nothing but an expense, owing to the decrease of traffic and constant need for cleaning, presented it to the Mayor and Corporation. Early in the eighteenth century the trade along this waterway was chiefly in coal and ale from towns in the Trent valley, but a change of ownership came in 1740, when the Fossdyke was granted on a long lease to Richard Ellison, and later on it came under the control of the L.N.E. Railway Co., the present owners.

Lincoln was the sixth largest town in England, by 1453 it had declined to the eighth place. With the accession of Henry VII, who always favoured Lincoln, there would seem to have been some return of prosperity, for in 1503 Lincoln was assessed at £114, thus ranking fourth among the towns in England.

The citizens did not merely content themselves with petitioning for help from the Crown, but made great efforts to regain at least some of the trade which had been lost by the removal of the Staple. By letters patent Henry VI permitted the Mayor and citizens to export sixty sacks of wool to Calais annually for three years free from tax. In 1516 an effort was made to revive the weaving industry which had much declined, though the famous scarlet cloth was still in demand. The Mayor of Lincoln engaged an expert in the art of cloth-making to instruct the citizens in the latest improved methods of this craft, and all skilled craftsmen in this work were allowed to live in the City and have their freedom.

At this time the City authorities took firm measures with the unemployed. In 1518 the constables were ordered to bring all beggars and idle persons before the Mayor, and all who were able to work were commanded to do so, 'or else to void the City.'

False traders and vagabonds also did not escape. We read that on November 21st, 1521, four men came from London to the fair. When called to give an account of themselves, one said he came to see his grandmother, another to sell ale, the third to seek work, and the fourth to sell pins and laces. All were ordered to the stocks and punished as vagabonds, though it was said of the first that 'no trespass can be found in him.'

In 1523 a saffron-seller, too, was examined as a vagabond, and it was found that he had no fixed abode, nor had he any wares to sell.

A strict eye was kept for any attempt at profiteering and

unjust dealing. In 1523 it was ordered that no pig should be sold above 4d., on pain of forfeiture by the buyer and a charge of 2d. each from the seller.

Despite all the efforts of the citizens Lincoln was again, some years later, undoubtedly in evil case. In 1528, it was recorded, 200 houses were in ruin and the sheriffs did not know where they could collect even £30 towards the required fee for the Crown. Owing to these conditions, in 1542 a supplication was delivered to the King, by two aldermen, stating that the City was in great ruin and most citizens would be compelled to forsake the City in a short time to its utter desolation. The poor people were licensed to beg and two years later a subsidy was granted by the King for 'sundry urgent considerations.'

Hard times continued; food prices were now increased, and wheat rose to about 20s. per quarter. In December 1551 it is recorded that many poor people died, for there had been no wind for five weeks, and since flour depended on the windmill, they could not make bread.

The citizens, however, persevered in their efforts to restore trade. The church of Holy Rood and the churchyard had been granted to the clothmakers by the Common Council for making a walk-mill and a dye-house, provided they made twenty broad cloths yearly or paid £10 to this church. But at this time we find that the clothiers in Lincoln began to meet with competition from the rising woollen towns in the north and west.

A Free Trade policy was then tried, and in 1554 any person coming to buy or sell any kind of wares was free from paying market tolls. The following year, however, we find that letters were sent to Newark and other towns explaining that they had taken tolls from Lincoln citizens, and threatening that if they continued to do so, tolls would be taken at Lincoln. Consequently, in 1560, Free Trade was agreed upon between Lincoln, Nottingham, and other towns. But Lincoln and the east of England began also

to feel the effects of the development of America, with the result that the trade of England now gradually turned westward, and Bristol and the other ports on the west coast by degrees took the trade from those of the east.

The number of unemployed in Lincoln increased and in 1562 workless men were ordered to stand at the Stonebow each day, for one hour at least with their tools, so that masters could hire them.

Various schemes were launched to assist the unemployed. In 1591 a knitting school was started and John Cheseman, a celebrated knitter, undertook to instruct a number of discreet men and women in this art. In return he was given £6 to pay off his debts. Four aldermen were to be overseers, and absentees were to be punished 'befitting to the offence.'

The school apparently progressed, and later on, Francis Newby and Jane his wife, who attended daily to learn the trade, became overseers of thirty scholars, to see that they did their work well and according to pattern. They were paid a salary of 40s. per year. On their retirement this knitting school continued under various succeeding masters and instructors, but the trade in wool had gone, and both Lincoln and Boston had now lost their importance. Hard times still continued, and the seventeenth century brought little improvement to the trade of the City. The various craft gilds, however, were maintained, and the Gild of Weavers enforced its regulations and asserted its privileges within twelve miles of Lincoln.

Necessary precautions were again enforced against unfair trading. On February 15th, 1608, a declaration was made preventing millers from mixing sand with the meal to make it heavier, under a penalty of £10 and three months' imprisonment. Another record dated 1628 imposed a penalty of 12d. on any butcher who inflated, stuffed, or used any deceitful dealing in veal, mutton, or lamb. It was also necessary for the sake of honest dealing to have a

standard strike measure. This was fixed with an iron chain near the churchyard of S. Mary-le-Wigford, so that people could measure their corn with the same measure.

Among the many efforts to revive the wool industry we read of a suggestion from Mr. Green at Boston, who offered to set 400 poor people of Lincoln on work with wool for five years, if the City would find him a house and *lend* him £300 yearly for the five years.

In 1624 a similar enterprise was undertaken by Gregory Lawcock, a freeman, who offered to instruct the poor to spin, knit stockings, weave garterings, make stuffs, and other articles of wool, and out of his gains to clothe the same poor and to deliver to the Mayor a certain value in cloth yearly, if he could be granted a supply of stock. To carry out the scheme a loan of £60 was made to him, a grant of £20 for his equipment, and a salary of £10 for his instruction. From Easter, 'every citizen of ability' was to wear at least one suit of apparel and one pair of stockings produced by this institution. In spite of all the encouragement, however, we find that this institution did not last long, for five years later, in 1629, a record shows that Lawcock was released from his engagement as he could not make it pay.

In 1625 it was decided that a wool market should be proclaimed and held on the site now occupied by the sheep market. A site also was offered by the Corporation to anyone wishing to build a warehouse for the storage of wool.

Another attempt to stimulate the cloth trade was made by the renewal of the Statutes of the Tailors in 1679. Under these the sword-bearer was to take special notice of any alderman or common councilman attending S. Peter's Church on Sunday afternoon without his gown, which was made by the tailors, and to demand 12d.

It was also necessary for the profit and advantage of the poor people of the City, and for convenient change, to

have local coins of small value. These were 'made of good brass' bearing the Arms of the City on one side and the words 'Lincoln City halfpenny changed by Mayor' on the other side; later on, farthings were issued with a similar stamp.

Much encouragement came in 1684 when a Charter granted by Charles II allowed an annual fair lasting four days, and a weekly market to be held on Tuesdays; and in 1696 a further Charter granted by William III permitted a horse and cattle fair to be held annually in September.

It must be remembered that at this time there were very few or no shops in Lincoln, or in other large towns in England, so it was at the fairs and markets that the necessities of life were obtained, but towards the end of the seventeenth century shops were established.

In 1787 another scheme was launched to stimulate the weaving industry by the institution of the celebrated 'Stuff Ball.' The first two years this was held at Alford, and for the encouragement of the Lincoln woollen manufacture the ladies wore stuff gowns, and the gentlemen stuff coats, waistcoats, and breeches. But all efforts failed, for Lincoln was now quite unable to compete with the towns of Yorkshire in the production of woollen goods. The 'Stuff Ball,' however, continued to be held, except during the War—though with revised rules.

In the district around, however, economic conditions were improving owing to the drainage and enclosure of the Fenlands. Strong objections to all drainage schemes came from the Fen dwellers who gained their living by fowling and fishing in the swamps, though the conditions under which they lived were very miserable. The drainage works, however, were carried forward and agriculture in the neighbourhood of Lincoln improved rapidly.

Fortunately, therefore, towards the end of the eighteenth century, with the decay of the wool weaving industry, came two great changes, which were of supreme importance in

shaping the future economic destiny of Lincoln. These were the scientific and effective drainage of the Fens, and the introduction of steam power. The Fens which hitherto had been believed to be sterile, when drained proved to be the richest land in England, so that the swamps and meres now transformed into rich arable and pasture land, introduced new industries and gave fresh life to the trade of Lincoln. The heath also was enclosed, the gorse and bracken destroyed, and the soil made to grow crops of corn.

This agricultural progress in turn gave rise to the great engineering industry at Lincoln, where all kinds of farming machinery were manufactured. With a market at her feet, Lincoln soon became a great industrial centre. Large workshops were built by the famous firms of Clayton and Shuttleworth, Robey, Ruston, Hornsby and Newsum, and these rapidly rose to world-wide reputation for the manufacture of machinery. These firms extended their plant with the development of electrical power, and in addition to all kinds of steam-engines, tractors, cultivators and threshing machines for the agricultural industry, they manufactured machinery for mining, bridge-building, and high-speed electrical engines for transport. The development of this great industry gave employment to thousands of skilled engineers and mechanics, and thus gave rise to the erection of factories, workshops, and dwelling houses in the lower part of the City.

So once again Lincoln was a prosperous City, and as the nineteenth century passed into the twentieth it had developed a large export trade with Russia, S. America, and the Colonies, and engines, manufactured at Lincoln, were being used in almost every country in the world.

But the Great War of 1914-18 brought disastrous results to industrial Lincoln. The skilled hands which fashioned the steel for the coulter, plough, motor tractor, harvester, and other implements of peace, were then employed in

the manufacture of munitions, weapons, tanks, and engines of war.

Still, in these depressing times, the genius and skill of the Lincoln craftsmen were maintained, for by the famous firm of William Foster was designed and constructed the first 'tank,' a monster unlike anything previously seen on the battlefield.

During the years of the War Lincoln lost most of her foreign trade. Transport being practically impossible, distant markets for agricultural machinery became supplied by other countries, thus the City shared the post-war general trade depression. But 'the old order changeth yielding place to new'; while some industries failed or decayed, others came into being, and to-day around Lincoln crops of sugar beet have replaced fields of corn, and in the City, workshops, formerly equipped for the manufacture of agricultural machinery, are converted for the production of excavators, and machinery used in connection with aeroplanes.

So down the ages the products of Lincoln have been famed for thorough workmanship, and during the great Restoration of the Minster, repairs were carried out by local masons and workmen, and the delicacy of art, combined with efficiency and skill, which guided the chisel on the refashioned stones, still testifies to the craftsmanship of her citizens, and to the assurance that the products of her industries, distinguished by skill, ingenuity, and craftsmanship, will always find a place in the markets of the world.

CHAPTER XVII

SCHOOLS AND CENTRES OF LEARNING

LINCOLN, as we might expect, was one of the earliest centres of education in England, and probably was a seat of learning before the Norman Conquest.

The famous Grammar School, from which has developed the present Lincoln School, has a history which can be traced back to the eleventh century, and though there is evidence that it formed part of the original foundation of the Cathedral in the year 1090, there is also reason to believe that it may have been founded at an even earlier date.

In the days when Normans ruled in our land, the building was situated in the low-lying part of Lincoln, and the Chancellor of the Cathedral appears to have been the schoolmaster whose duty it was 'to rule the school and correct the books.' Since men distinguished for learning and character were appointed to the Cathedral, the school soon attained high prestige especially under Chancellor William de Monte, who, in the episcopate of S. Hugh, had come from Paris to teach at Lincoln.

The records of the Cathedral during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have various references to this old foundation. From a document of 1236 we learn that the Chancellor still corrected the lesson books, but ten years later the school appears to have had a schoolmaster, distinct from the Chancellor; he also held a position in the Cathedral. In 1300 it is recorded that the then schoolmaster received sixpence for wine on the admission of a new canon.

For a long time the Grammar School apparently held the monopoly of education in the City, but in 1311 a new school suddenly sprang into existence, conducted by some enter-

prising but doubtless presumptuous persons. This rival institution, however, was very short lived, for it was quickly suppressed by the authority of Bishop D'Alderby.

William of Wheteley seems to be the first master of the Grammar School to be mentioned by name. He was in charge in 1316 and evidently was a great scholar and writer. Among his manuscripts were a commentary on Boethius, and two hymns dedicated to S. Hugh of Lincoln, which formed part of a Nativity play performed by the school on Christmas Day—and which are still preserved at New College, Oxford.

Owing to the Black Death the school appears to have been without a master for some time, and then we learn that one was appointed who had not a Master of Arts degree. Evidently this appointment was a breach of the statutes, but as the history of the school is not continuous, we do not know how long this unqualified master kept his position.

In addition to this Grammar School situated in Scholgate, believed by some authorities to have been in Clasketgate, there was also the Choir School founded in 1406 by the Chapter, and conducted by the Precentor. This was built near the Cathedral and may have been 'College House,' now converted into a dwelling near the Chapter House, while the building known as 'The Rest,' may occupy the site of the school tuck-shop. The choristers from this school, however, were ordered 'to descend once a term to the Grammar School,' and there to sit 'under the teaching and chastisement of its master.'

The Choir School also had its own headmaster, and in 1406 a new headmaster was appointed to each of the two schools. John Bracebridge, M.A., came to the headship of the Grammar School of the City. He had been the headmaster of the Grammar School at Boston since 1390, and consequently was a man of scholastic experience and standing.

In 1410 an usher also was appointed to the school for

the choristers. He, too, was a Master of Arts, and by permission of the Bishop wore the habit of a vicar choral.

Though the choristers were allowed to attend the Grammar School, they, like other pupils, had to pass an entrance examination before admission, thus proving their ability to benefit by the instruction.

A great change in the management of these schools was made early in the sixteenth century, when the ancient Grammar School of the Church and City of Lincoln, which had so long been controlled by the Dean and Chapter, came under the government of the Mayor and Corporation of the City. Other changes consequently followed, and in 1511 the City Council was engaged in providing new and additional buildings in 'Scolegate' for this old foundation, and in 1517 a meeting was called to know what each man would give towards the purchasing of a school-house for the master. The following year a collection was made towards providing the school-house, and the next year Bartholomew Willyford was chosen to ride to Markby Abbey to speak with the Prior for the sealing of the deed of the house for the schoolmaster, and to bear the money with him for the same.

William Dyghton was now the schoolmaster, but in 1520 he appears to have been in disgrace and was bound over to keep the peace.

Another phase in the history of this school began soon after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The house surrendered by the Grey Friars became the property of Justice Robert Monson, Recorder of Lincoln, and by his munificence, was adapted for the school and given to the City. In 1567 the school was transferred to these old monastic buildings, and continued in this same place for over 300 years.

Shortly after the transfer, however, financial troubles began. For some reason or other the voluntary subscriptions for the salary of the headmaster of this free school

did not come in liberally, and to raise the required amount it became necessary to lay an education rate on the City.

The school, however, progressed and learning was thorough, for as early as 1580 a scholar, William Storr, gained an exhibition to the University of Oxford. Twenty shillings were granted to this distinguished pupil, and two years later another grant was made of forty shillings for his books and maintenance at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1581, took his B.A. degree in 1584, and his M.A. degree in 1588.

In this same year 1580, the Dean and Chapter were approached by the Mayor and Corporation for the purpose of considering the possibility of uniting the two schools. Eventually terms were agreed upon, and four years later, the City School and the Choristers' School were united under the dual authority of the Dean and Chapter and the Mayor and City Council. This combined school thus continued until 1884, and during this time sound instruction was given by eminent masters and many great scholars were educated under their guidance. The authorities also showed much interest in the school, and carefully supervised its management, for we read that on many occasions it was inspected by the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter.

With this greater responsibility the headmaster was granted a slight increase of salary, and in 1724 the emoluments consisted of a stipend of £20 from the City, £20 from the Dean and Chapter, and an allowance of £10 for the house.

In 1884, however, the school was divided, the older scholars being removed to new buildings, known as the Grammar School, on Lindum Terrace, erected to meet the increasing demand for education, while the middle school still occupied the house of the Grey Friars. The schools were thus separated for sixteen years, when, in 1900 they were reunited. Six years later the school was finally removed to the new buildings, occupying a healthy site in Wragby Road on the outskirts of the City. The name was

then changed from the 'Grammar School' to the more dignified and appropriate name of 'Lincoln School.'

This spacious building designed by L. Stokes of Westminster was built at a cost of £20,000, to meet the modern needs of the City and the requirements of the Board of Education, and was opened by the Rt. Hon. Lord Monson and J. Ruston, Esq., the then Mayor of Lincoln. The school and grounds occupy twelve acres and include cloisters, five tennis courts, recreation grounds, a football field, and swimming baths. The building itself will accommodate a large number of day pupils and boarders, and comprises excellent dormitories, studies, common rooms, staff rooms, chemistry and physics laboratories, lecture rooms, library, swimming and spray baths, workshops, a refectory, and the domestic block of kitchens, pantries, and rooms for the domestic staff.

The object of this up-to-date and very well equipped school is to provide a thoroughly liberal and practical education, while there are also scholarships and exhibitions tenable at a University.

Christ's Hospital, known as the Old Blue Coat School, stands near the Bishop's Palace, and was founded and endowed under the will of Dr. Richard Smith, who died in 1602, for six poor boys and six poor girls to be fed, clothed, boarded, and educated, under the care of an usher and matron. Subsequently further endowments were given to the school, which gradually increased the income, till it provided for 120 scholars. Great changes came in 1870, and in 1883 the school was closed, and the endowments used to further the cause of education in the City. Part of the fund was used to support a high school for girls, and the rest to provide scholarships to enable promising pupils at the elementary schools to attend the secondary schools.

The *High School for Girls* stands in Lindum Road on a healthy site formerly occupied by an old church. It is a modern building, designed and equipped to provide a

secondary education for girls, and comprises staff and classrooms, science and art rooms, library and gymnasium. A Norman door—an interesting feature preserved from the past—was built into the new structure, and opens into the large dressing-room.

The building was opened in 1893, but many additions and improvements have since been made to keep abreast of the times, and it now accommodates some 500 girls.

Though the building is modern, this school can look back to an old foundation, since it was mainly developed from the endowments for Christ's Hospital, founded under the will of the above-mentioned Dr. Richard Smith. Other bequests followed to support this growing institution, but since 1870, when all the money required for the specified needs of the twelve children was reserved, some of the surplus passed for the use of this school, so that to-day, among its pupils are some holding scholarships derived from these seventeenth-century endowments.

In addition to the building in Lindum Road there are houses for boarders, and extensive playing fields connected with this school.

The *Church House and Institute* had its origin in the Chancellor's night school, and was founded on a small scale in Westgate, but later on extended its activities in the buildings of Christ's Hospital, purchased from the Governors in 1889 for £3,000. Within a short time this Church House and Institute became a great centre for many religious, educational, social, and manual activities.

In 1890 the Continuation Day School for Elementary Science and Manual Instruction was established, and in the following year, the enlarged buildings, which included a school of carpentry, were reopened. In 1894 the advanced section of the school developed into an organized science school with some 200 scholars.

Religious instruction and lectures were also given in this institute, and, to provide more accommodation in 1898,

the Westgate Hall was enlarged and opened by Bishop King as a supplement to the Church House. Later on, science laboratories and additional classrooms were built, and a large continuation school for both boys and girls was established. In 1900 this school was recognized by the Board of Education, and since that date it has been subject to official inspection.

In 1930 the Church House and Institute was incorporated with the Leeke Intermediate Church School and Institute, and is now managed by a body of twenty-four governors which includes the incumbents of the five parishes above hill. The object of the scheme is to provide 'A Public Elementary School conducted on the principles of the Church of England,' and the school at present provides instruction for 350 boys and girls above the age of eleven years.

The Church House and Institute has thus played, and still plays, an important part in the religious, educational, and social training of both the young and the adults of the City. The Institution now comprises recreation rooms, library, gymnasium, reading rooms, carpentry school, and science laboratories, while cricket, football, tennis, badminton, and various other clubs are organized from this centre.

Many public lectures and important meetings of various church bodies have been held here, which otherwise might have been held in the Chapter House.

The *Lincoln Technical College*, situated in Monks Road, was erected in 1886 by public subscription as the School of Science and Art, and was presented by the Trustees to the Corporation in 1901 when it was renamed the City of Lincoln Municipal Technical School. A further change came in 1908 when this building was used as a secondary school for boys. Extensive laboratories and workshops were added, and in 1928 the name was changed to 'Lincoln Technical College.'

With the great demand for technical education in Lincoln these buildings were greatly enlarged and an entirely new and up-to-date engineering college was opened in 1931. This spacious building contains workshops, science laboratories, machinery, and lecture rooms, and is equipped to meet all the requirements of a modern technical education, and to prepare students who wish to study for a University degree.

This College is under the management of a body of Governors appointed by the Lincoln Education Authority and is attended by 950 students.

The Lincoln School of Art forms a department of this College and provides facilities for those who wish to study art, whether as an adjunct to their general education, or as a means of livelihood; it aims at giving a sound artistic training to students engaged in craft and trade occupations which have a distinct artistic basis. The school is equipped with all modern appliances, and many well known artists, past and present, have received instruction from its masters.

The *Schola Cancellarii* is a theological college for the preparation and training of candidates for Holy Orders. The college was founded by Bishop Wordsworth in 1874, and for some years the students used the Alnwick Tower of the Bishop's Palace during their training, but later on they occupied the old County Hospital, situated on Steep Hill, which had been converted into a hostel, being now known as the Bishop's Hostel. The College is under the direction of the Chancellor of the Cathedral, the Bishop of Lincoln being visitor, and the immediate management is vested in the Warden of the Hostel.

A beautiful chapel was built during the wardenship of Dr. Benson, according to the designs of Temple Moore, architect, the foundation stone being laid by Bishop Edward King in 1906. The reredos, preserved in the vestry, was transferred from the former chapel which is now used as a common room.

The *Diocesan Training College for Women* occupies a healthy site north of Newport Arch—the old gate of the Roman city. This building was erected in the Tudor style in 1842 and designed for a school, but, after various additions and improvements, it was reopened in 1862 as a training college for women students for the teaching profession. Many improvements were made during the years 1900–2, when the building was enlarged to accommodate about 120 resident students. The main block contains lecture rooms, science and art rooms, and a library, and adjoins the residential quarters of the Principal and college staff. The College Chapel attached to the main building was enlarged in 1932 and has a fine East window. Few colleges in the country are so well placed or have such beautiful grounds, and with the erection of the proposed new buildings this should rank as one of the most up-to-date and well equipped colleges in England.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MUSEUMS AND PUBLIC HALLS

THE *Usher Art Gallery* situated in the Temple Gardens on Lindum Hill should be seen by all who visit Lincoln. This modern building, designed by Sir R. Blomfield, the eminent architect, is built of Ancaster stone, and was opened in 1927 by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

In a city so rich in noble buildings it is gratifying to find that the Usher Art Gallery, a fine example of modern architecture, is not unworthy of its place.

The building was erected and endowed from the bequest of £60,000 by James Ward Usher, a celebrated Lincoln clockmaker, who died in 1921. The treasures exhibited in the gallery are mainly those collected by Usher, and consist of exquisite miniature watches, rare porcelain, antique silver, valuable paintings, relics of both Napoleon and Nelson, old pictures, prints and illustrations of Lincolnshire. Besides the Usher collection, which occupies a specified portion of the gallery, there are specimens of old needlework, dresses, and numerous interesting works of art. Other rooms contain exhibitions of pictures on loan from famous galleries, or works of local artists.

The *City and County Museum* is a preserved portion of the old friary of the Grey Friars who came to Lincoln about the year 1236. After the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, this building became the property of Robert Monson who, after adapting it for the use of a free school, gave it to the Corporation.

Recently these buildings have been carefully restored, and in May 1907 they were officially opened to the public

as the City and County Museum, where many relics of bygone Lincoln and Lincolnshire are now preserved.

The lower room, with its fine vaulted roof, contains numerous antiquities, including many relics of the Roman occupation of Lincoln, as well as many British flint and stone implements, and interesting objects of medieval times.

The upper chamber, which still retains a large portion of its original barrel roof of oak rafters, is approached by an outside staircase, and now houses a very fine collection of geological and natural history exhibits.

The *Public Library*, now in Free School Lane, was built in 1913 by the munificence of the late Andrew Carnegie, who contributed £10,000 to the fund. Though this building of Ancaster stone, designed by R. Blomfield, is modern, Lincoln has possessed an important library for a very long time.

The Stock Library, as it was called, had its entrance in Mint Lane, and in 1814 this institution was proprietary with 278 shareholders, while a subscription of 3s. 6d. per month was required from strangers. In 1856 this library contained some 10,000 volumes.

The First Public Free Library, however, was originally the Men's Institute and Reading Room. This occupied the old city Assembly Rooms adjoining and above the butter market, and was under the direction of the City of Lincoln Education Authority.

Many of the books were removed to the new building which now contains some 40,000 volumes, including an excellent Reference Library of books and manuscripts of local interest.

PUBLIC HALLS AND MARKETS

The *Corn Exchange*.—Formerly the public market was held in the open square to the east of the High Street called the Corn Hill. To provide a covered building, the Corn

Exchange was built in 1847, and as time went on it was enlarged and altered, and reopened by the Prince Consort in 1853. As business increased, this building was inadequate and a larger one became necessary. Consequently the lower part was converted into an arcade for shops and offices, now known as the Exchange Arcade, while the upper room is used for meetings of various kinds, and is called the Exchange Hall.

To provide the required accommodation, the present Corn Exchange was erected in 1879 over the new market to the north of the old buildings. This large hall—140 feet long and 52 feet broad—with a gallery at one end and retiring rooms, is used as a concert hall when it is not required for its original business purpose.

The market, also opened in 1847, has recently been covered in.

The *Butter Market* was erected in 1736 in the cemetery of the Church of S. Peter-at-Pleas, near the peltry or skin market, by the Corporation, which devoted the cost of the civic banquet for ten years to the building fund.

Twenty-one years later a large room was built over the butter market, which for many years served as the City Assembly Rooms. A century later it became the Mechanics Institution with a library, reading rooms, and a small museum containing Roman relics and geological exhibits.

The *County Assembly Rooms* in Bailgate were opened in 1744. The Lincoln 'Stuff Ball,' organized to support the trade of the City, is still an annual event in these rooms, though it is now known as 'The Colour Ball,' since the Lady Patroness chooses the colour to be worn for that evening. This building is frequently used for balls and other public social gatherings.

The *Drill Hall* in Broadgate is a stern-looking building presented to the City by the late Joseph Ruston to serve as headquarters for the 4th Battalion of the Lincolnshire Regiment.

APPENDIX (a)

LIST OF BISHOPS

BISHOPS OF THE SEE OF LINCOLN

- 1072. Remigius of Fescamp. The first Norman Bishop.
- 1094. Robert Bloet. Chancellor of William I and II.
- 1123. Alexander the Magnificent. The great builder.
- 1148. Robert de Chesney. Began the Episcopal Palace.
- 1167-1173.—See vacant.
- 1173. Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Henry II, held the See though he was not consecrated until 1191, when he was translated to York.
- 1183. Walter of Constance. Translated to Rouen in 1184.
- 1184-1186. See vacant for two years.
- 1186. Hugh of Avalon. Builder of much of the present Cathedral, and canonized in 1220.
- 1200-1203. See vacant for three years owing to dispute between the King and Cathedral Chapter as to the right of election to the See.
- 1203. William of Blois. Precentor of Lincoln.
- 1206-1209. See vacant for three years.
- 1209. Hugh de Wells. Archdeacon of Wells. A cathedral builder.
- 1235. Robert Grosseteste. Chancellor of Oxford University. A great reformer.
- 1254. Henry de Lexington. Dean of Lincoln.
- 1258. Richard de Gravesend. Dean of Lincoln. Took the part of the Barons.
- 1280. Oliver Sutton. Dean of Lincoln. A builder.
- 1300. John D'Alderby. Chancellor of Lincoln. President at the trial of the Knights Templars.

- 1320. Henry Burghersh. Treasurer and Chancellor of England. Baptized the Black Prince.
- 1342. Thomas Bek, nephew of great Bishop of Durham.
- 1347. John Gynewell. Archdeacon of Northampton.
- 1363. John Bokingham. Keeper of the Privy Seal. Translated to Lichfield.
- 1398. Henry Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt. Translated to Winchester.
- 1405. Philip of Repingdon. Chancellor of Oxford University.
- 1420. Richard Fleming. Founder of Lincoln College, Oxford.
- 1431. William Grey. Dean of York, Bishop of London.
- 1436. William of Alnwick. Confessor of Henry VI. Enlarged the Bishop's Palace.
- 1450. Marmaduke Lumley. Translated from Carlisle. Died the same year.
- 1450-1452. See vacant for two years.
- 1452. John Chedworth. Canon of Lincoln. Archdeacon of Wilts.
- 1472. Thomas Rotherham. Lord Chancellor of England. Translated to York, 1480.
- 1480. John Russell. Chancellor of Oxford.
- 1496. William Smith. Rebuilt Brasenose College, Oxford.
- 1514. Thomas Wolsey, later Cardinal Wolsey. Founder of Christ Church, Oxford.
- 1514. William Atwater. Prebendary of Lincoln.
- 1521. John Longland. Confessor to Henry VIII.
- 1547. Henry Holbech. Bishop of Rochester. Buried at Eton College.
- 1552. John Taylor. Deprived by Queen Mary.
- 1554. John White. The "severe Prelate." Translated to Winchester and deprived by Queen Elizabeth.
- 1557. Thomas Watson. "An Austere Man." Deprived by Queen Elizabeth and died in prison in Wisbech Castle.

1560. Nicholas Bullingham. Translated to Worcester.
1571. Thomas Cooper. Translated to Winchester.
1584. William Wickham. Translated to Winchester.
1595. William Chaderton. Translated from Chester.
1608. William Barlow. Translated from Rochester.
1614. Richard Neile. Bishop successively of Rochester,
Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester and
finally Archbishop of York.
1617. George Montaigne. Translated to London, thence
to Durham, thence to York.
1621. John Williams. Opposed Archbishop Laud. Im-
prisoned in Tower. Translated to York.
1642. Thomas Winniffe. Expelled by Parliament.
See vacant for six years.
1660. Robert Sanderson. Regius Professor at Oxford.
Wrote Preface and part of Prayer Book.
1663. Benjamin Laney. Translated to Ely.
1667. William Fuller. Translated from Limerick.
1675. Thomas Barlow. Released John Bunyan from Bed-
ford Jail.
1692. Thomas Tenison. Translated to Canterbury.
1695. James Gardiner. Chaplain to Duke of Monmouth.
1705. William Wake. Translated to Canterbury.
1716. Edmund Gibson. Translated to London.
1723. Richard Reynolds. Translated to Bangor.
1744. John Thomas. Translated to Salisbury.
1761. John Green. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge Uni-
versity.
1779. Thomas Thurlow. Translated to Durham.
1787. George Pretymann Tomline. Translated to Win-
chester.
1820. George Pelham. Translated from Exeter.
1827. John Kaye. Regius Professor of Divinity at Cam-
bridge.
1853. John Jackson. Translated to London.

1869. Christopher Wordsworth, nephew of poet. Headmaster of Harrow School and Archdeacon of Westminster.
1885. Edward King. Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford.
1910. Edward Lee Hicks. Canon in Manchester Cathedral.
1920. William Shuckburgh Swayne. Dean of Manchester.
1932. Frederick Cyril Nugent Hicks. Translated from Gibraltar.

APPENDIX (b)

VANISHED CHURCHES

IN the Middle Ages Lincoln had a wealth of churches; they were at one time fifty-two in number. Many have entirely disappeared, and we find comparatively modern buildings occupying the sites upon which they once stood.

In the City records one may read of the following churches which no longer exist.

The *Church of Holy Innocents on the Green* occupied a site on Newark Road, just outside the walls of the City, which was known as the 'Malandry Closes.' This church was founded by Remigius and was attached to the Leper Hospital. Later on, it was endowed by Henry I. In it was a chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the use of the Lepers.

The *Church of S. Margaret in Wigford* stood on the west side of High Street, but owing to the decay of the City, it fell into ruin and the parish was united with that of S. Botolph in 1553.

The *Church of Holy Rood or Holy Cross* was also situated on the west side of High Street, south of the great gowt. This church, we are told, was leased in 1550 by the Corporation for twenty years at £5 per annum to the Cloth-makers, who then transformed it into a factory. They pulled down the steeple, set up their looms in the nave, and erected their tenters in the cemetery.

The *Church of S. Michael in Wigford*, or at Gowts, stood on the east side of High Street, the site being now occupied by the Victoria Schools.

The *Church of Holy Trinity in Wigford* also occupied a site on the east side of High Street, but owing to the decay of the City, the church was demolished in 1551.

The *Church of S. Edward the King* stood on the west side of High Street, probably where the L.M.S. Railway now has its station.

The *Church of S. John the Evangelist* was situated opposite the Cornhill in High Street. In 1552 the structure was sold for £20 to Alderman George Stamp, on condition that he converted it into a dwelling-house. Apparently he did not fulfil his agreement, for in 1560 an order in Council demanded the removal of the church, and in 1598 the lease of the cemetery was purchased by the Corporation and the site used as the Corn Market. Portions of the wall are incorporated in adjacent buildings and a doorway richly moulded is now preserved in the premises of Mr. H. Sharpe, Swanpool Court.

The *Church of S. Thomas of Canterbury* was known as the Bridge Chapel and stood on the east side of the High Bridge. The history of this wayside chapel takes us back to very early days, for in 1235 the bridge was widened and this chapel built to replace a former one. In the reign of King John a grant was made to Peter of Paris of the advowson of this chapel with the injunction to pray for the King's soul, his ancestors and successors. We read too that Elias the Parson gave lands for its maintenance, and later on several chantries were founded.

In 1304 it came under the patronage of the Mayor and Corporation and was rededicated to S. Thomas the Martyr, but a few years later Bishop Burghersh had to issue an injunction for its repair to save it from decay. Eventually, however, this chapel which is described as very beautiful and contained a wheel window fell into ruin. In 1549 the bell was sold and the building was let by the Corporation to be converted into a dwelling-house. Twenty years later it was granted to the Company of Tanners and Butchers as a hall for their fellowship, and finally, in 1762, it was demolished. Its site is now marked by the obelisk.

The *Church of S. Denis in Thorngate* was on the north bank

of the River Witham. It soon fell into disuse and was removed in the reign of King James I.

The *Church of S. Rombald* was situated in the swine market at the corner of Friars' Lane. In 1301 this church was desecrated by murder, but later it was purified by Bishop D'Alderby.

The *Church of S. Peter-at-the-Pump* was situated on the south side of Monks Road. Some authorities claim this to be one of the two churches built by Colswegen on ground formerly a swamp, which was granted to him by William I, and later on given to S. Mary's at York by his son. In 1309 the steeple was rebuilt, but in 1461 the population of the parish had so decreased that Bishop Chedworth ordained that the church should be served by the Prior of S. Mary Magdalene, which was a cell of S. Mary's Abbey, known as Monks Abbey. Very shortly afterwards this church ceased to exist.

The *Church of S. Austin in Baggeholme* is thought by some authorities to be the other church built by Colswegen. It stood in Rosemary Lane, but it, too, was demolished before the Act of Union of Parishes and its fabric used for repairing the bridge over the great gowt drain.

The *Church of S. Clement in Butterwick* is mentioned in records, but its site seems uncertain.

The *Church of Holy Trinity-at-the-Stairs*—'*atte the Greeces*'—stood at the foot of the Greestone Stairs. In 1534 it was in ruins, and finally the materials were sold for the benefit of the Common Chamber. Half the value of the bells was given to the Church of S. Swithin, and some of the stone was given to the church and house of the Grey Friars. A celebrated anchoress had her cell attached to this church.

The *Church of S. Faith in Newland* was built in 1124 on land newly recovered from the Fosdyke, but in 1263 this parish was joined to that of S. Mary-le-Wigford, and in the eighteenth century the churchyard was occupied by a brick factory.

The *Church of S. Stephen* stood in Newland. It, too, had a short history, for in 1546 it was sold to the Corporation for £10.

The *Church of S. Mary-le-Crackpole or Craypool* was a prebendal church given to the Minster by Henry I. It stood near a creek connected with Brayford, which was used as a goods wharf by the Romans.

The *Church of All Saints, Hungate*, stood east of S. Mary-le-Crackpole. The population of this parish decreased; consequently the church was pulled down before the Act of Union of Parishes, and the materials were sold for £1 6s. 7d.

The *Church of S. Peter* was also situated in Hungate, and quite near it was a celebrated holy well.

The *Church of S. Cuthbert* was near the foot of the Steep Hill. Many traces of this building have been found in the vicinity.

The *Church of S. Lawrence* was given to Remigius by William I. A chantry was founded in 1297. In 1552 the church was used for secular purposes. The building, however, survived the Civil War, and during the plague was used as an isolation hospital. Later on it served as a stable; and a play house and cockpit occupied the burial ground.

The *Church of S. Peter-at-Pleas*—‘ad Placita,’—stood quite near the old Guildhall where the City pleadings were heard; the site is now occupied by the butter market.

The *Church of S. Edmund* stood in Bank Street; it was demolished after the Act of Union of Parishes.

The *Church of Holy Trinity in Clasketgate* was situated in Silver Street, and was taken down in 1536.

The *Church of S. Gregory* was also in Clasketgate on Lindum Road. It was demolished in the reign of Edward VI.

The *Church of S. George the Martyr* stood in Grantham Street, and in the sixteenth century this, too, disappeared.

The *Church of S. Bavon* also in Grantham Street, was taken down in 1535; part of the walls was used to repair

the pavements in S. Mary's parish, and the roof was given to the Warden of Grey Friars to repair his home.

The *Church of S. Andrew-under-the-Palace* was built in Danesgate, just below the palace walls. An Anker House was attached to this church.

The *Church of All Hallows* probably stood in the fish market; the site is now said to be occupied by the Bishop's hostel.

The *Church of S. Peter the Poor* also stood in the old fish market.

* The *Church of S. Margaret in the Close* was a small building with a low square tower, and stood south-east of the Cathedral. It was probably founded by Blecca, an Anglo-Saxon convert, and then passed on to Osbert, the Sheriff. Eventually the benefice and its profits were given to Bishop Bloet, and the gift was confirmed by Henry I.

The building was much damaged during the Civil War in 1644 and has now entirely disappeared, the stones being used to build the new church of S. Peter-in-Eastgate with S. Margaret.

The *Church of S. Clement in West Bight* was the parish church of old Lincoln, which was a portion of the Roman city. The church was demolished in the fourteenth century and the rent of the site was given towards the maintenance of the Minster.

The *Church of All Saints in the Bail* was a very early foundation, and is mentioned in Domesday Book as having been under the care of Godric, the Saxon. It stood in Eastgate, and its site is probably that now occupied by the Black Horse public-house.

The *Church of S. Bartholomew* was the church of an extensive parish which stretched from the brow of the hill to the west of the castle. This church was much damaged during the wars of Stephen and, owing to the decrease in population, was assigned for the support of the choir boys. In 1468 the steeple fell and a Chapel of Ease was constructed

from the ruins. Later on, this was converted into a dwelling-house, and finally, in 1644, it was burnt by the Parliamentary forces.

The *Church of S. Leonard in Eastgate*, which was on the north side of Greetwell Gate, was demolished in 1535.

The *Church of S. Giles in Eastgate*, was the chapel of a hospital situated in Wragby Road. The date and name of the founder are unknown, but we read that this church was granted by Bishop Oliver Sutton in 1278 to the vicars of the Minster, for the aged and infirm members.

The *Church of S. John Baptist* stood on the village green of Newport. It was given to Bishop Bloet by Henry I, and was taken down in 1546.

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INDEX

- Aaron of Lincoln, xiii, 14, 15, 64, 197-200
 Adam, Abbot of Eynsham, 12
 Adelfius, Bp., 3
 Agricola, 2
 Akenhead, Canon, 177
 Albans, S., 14, 63, 71
 Alexander, Bp., xiii, 7, 62, 63, 75, 77, 129, 130
 Allen, W., 99
 Alnwick, Bp., 131, 139
 Alnwick Tower, 137, 235
 America, 141, 223
 America, South, 226
 Anchoresses, 19, 247
 Anderson, Sir C., 113
 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 3, 4, 62
 Antoninus, Itinerary of, 2
 Arles, Council of, 3
 Arms of City, xv; of See, xv, 213
 Augustinians, 191
 Austin Friars, 19, 192

 Banovallum, 154
 Bargates, Great and Little, 162, 190
 Barlings, 38, 39
 Bartholomew, Aldress, 209
 Bartholomew, S., Priory of, 190
 Basilica, xiii
 Bayeux, 60
 Becke, John, 43 (senior), 179
 Becket (S. Thomas, of Canterbury), 8, 163, 166
 Bede, 3, 164, 168
 Bee, Capt., 49
 Beele, Wm., 158
 Belaset of Wallingford, 15, 16, 197
 Belvoir, 48
 Benedictines, 18, 189
 Benson, Abp., 92, 139, 171, 181, 235
 Berry, Maj.-Gen., 53
 Birinus, Bp., 58
 Black Death, 220, 229
 Black Friars, 19, 192
 Blanche of Lancaster, 32
 Blecca, 3, 168, 184, 249
 Bloet, Bp., 62, 129, 145, 184
 Blois, William of, 66, 106
 Blomfield, A. W., 169, 183
 Blomfield R., 237, 238
 Bluecoat School, 181, 232
 Bodley, G. F., 183
 Bolingbroke Castle, 32, 152
 Boniface, Abp., 21
 Boston (Lincs.), 19, 25, 47, 80, 203, 218-20, 223, 229
 (Mass.), 74
 Bramfield, Sub-dean, 107
 Brayford, 213, 248
 Brigantes, 1
 Briggate, 157
 Bromhead family, 172, 194
 Brompton, 8
 Brownlow, Earl, 145
 Buck, 188
 Buckden, 103, 131, 132, 136
 Bure-Warrentot 202, 203
 Burgh, Sir Thomas, 34
 Burghersh, Bp., 69, 113, 131, 246
 Burghersh family, 113, 141
 'Chanters,' 99
 Burton Lazars, 191
 Bussey, Gordon de, 151
 Butler, Dean, 93, 118, 124

 Camden, 121, 173, 176, 179
 Camville, Gerard de, 16, 151
 Cantilupe, Nicholas, 115, 139
 Canute, 5
 'Captain Cabler,' 37
 Car Dyke, 2
 Catausius, 3
 Carmelites, 19, 192
 Carnegie, Andrew, 238
 Castle (Lincoln), xiii, 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 16-8, 46, 142-52
 Cathedral, Bishop's Eye, 69, 82, 94
 Chapels: S. Anne, 97, 140
 S. Blaise, 83, 115, 116
 Cantilupe, 115
 S. Catherine, 83, 113
 Chanters', 97
 Dean's, 106
 S. Edward, 97
 S. Hugh, 106
 S. James, 90
 S. John Baptist, 65, 68, 109, 114

Cathedral, Chapels :

- S. John, Evangelist, 97
- S. Michael, 104
- Mooring, 67, 79, 90
- S. Nicholas, 115
- SS. Peter and Paul, 82, 106, 107
- Ringers', 90, 91
- Services, 96
- Wickham Memorial, 90
- Consistory Court, 67, 79, 90, 91
- Dean's Den, 103
- Dean's Eye, 67, 82, 85, 94
- Easter Sepulchre, 116, 117
- Font, 91
- Galilee Porch, 67, 81, 86, 98, 130
- 'Great Tom,' 78, 120-3
- Muniment Room, 81
- Tower, S. Hugh's, 77, 78
- S. Mary's, 77, 78
- Rood, 79, 80, 93, 121
- Works Chantry, 97, 140
- Caxton, 126, 161
- Charles I., 41-6, 51, 204
- II, 50, 51, 214, 225
- Charters (City), 9, 37, 51, 54, 203, 204, 216, 219, 225
- Chedworth, Bp., 118, 247
- Cheseman, John, 223
- Chesney, Robert de, Bp., 63, 129, 130, 187, 191
- Chester, Earl of, 7, 146, 147, 150, 200
- Choir School, 229
- Christ's Hospital, 181, 232, 233
- Church House and Institute, 233
- Churches: *All Saints, Hungate, 103
- *All Saints, Thorngate, 103
- All Saints, Bracebridge, 185
- All Saints, Monks Road, 180
- S. Andrew, 180
- S. Andrew-in-Wigford, 19, 180
- *S. Andrew-under-the-Palace, 19
- S. Benedict, 174, 178, 179
- S. Botolph, 103, 177, 179
- S. Christopher, 185
- S. Faith, 185
- S. Giles, 184
- S. Helen, 185
- *Holy Trinity at the Stairs, 19
- *Holy Rood, 222, 245
- S. Hugh (Roman Catholic), 186
- S. Katherine and All Saints, 178
- S. Margaret, 184
- S. Mark, 176, 178

Churches .

- S. Martin, 103, 177, 179
- S. Mary-le-Wigford, 167, 168, 172, 175, 224, 247
- S. Mary Magdalene, 60, 69, 159, 182
- S. Matthias, 185
- S. Michael-on-the-Mount, 130, 181
- S. Nicholas, 167, 184
- S. Paul, 168, 169
- S. Peter-at-Arches, 41, 49, 167, 179, 224
- S. Peter-at-Gowts, 167, 168, 170
- *S. Peter-at-Pleas, 239
- S. Peter-in-Eastgate, 183, 184
- S. Swithin, 179, 247
- Cistercians, 216
- City and County Museum, 237
- Clarendon, 45
- Clasketgate, 161, 229, 248
- Claudius Ptolemaeus, 2
- Clayton, N., 183
- Clayton and Shuttleworth, 226
- Climate, xiv
- Close Rolls, 24, 25
- Cloth manufacture, 24, 216, 219, 221, 224
- Cobb Hall, 147, 148
- Cockburn, N. C., 183
- Colonia (organization of), 2
- 'Colour Ball,' 239
- Colswegen, 110, 168, 170, 172, 247
- Conduit, S. Mary's, 174
- Confirmation of the Charters, 24
- Constable of the Close, 99
- Copin, 15
- Coritani, 1
- Corn Exchange, 238
- County Assembly Rooms, 239
- Cromwell, Oliver, 49, 50, 51, 53, 175
- Cromwell, Thomas, 38
- Cumberworth, Sir Thomas, 19
- Curfew, 122, 178
- D'Alderby, Bp., 23, 69, 71, 79, 98, 117, 128, 228
- Damini, 106, 179
- Danes, xiii, 3, 4, 5, 58, 158, 189
- Danish Burghs, Five, 4, 5, 202
- Deloraine Court, 141, 160, 187
- Derby, 4, 32, 152
- Diocesan Training College, 236
- Domesday Book, 4, 5, 142, 202, 216, 249
- Dominicans, 19, 20, 192
- Dorchester (Oxon.), 3, 6, 10, 58, 60, 63, 71, 125

*Vanished Churches.

- Dugdalc, 68
 Duumviis, 2
 Dyghton, Wm., 230
 Dymokey, Sir Thomas, 34, 35
- Eadhed, Bp., 3, 58
 Earthquake, 64, 127
 Edmund Ironside, 5
 Edward I, 24, 68, 114, 125, 128, 138, 183,
 191
 II, 24, 70, 114, 138
 III, 24, 70, 113, 114, 158
 IV, 33, 34, 35, 70, 211
 VI, 40, 166, 167
 Eleanor, Queen, 83, 114, 145, 188
 Elizabeth, Queen, 31, 32, 40, 175
 Ellison family, 185, 220 (*note*)
 Empyngham, 35
 Eremites, 192
 Ermine Street, xii, 2, 153, 157, 192
 Evelyn, John, 48, 50
 Everard, Margaret, 191
 Exchequer Gate, 75, 138, 159, 161
- * 'Fair of Lincoln,' 18
 Fairs, 33, 54, 219, 225
 Fawkes de Breauté, 17, 151
 Fenland, xi, 57, 80, 225, 226
 Fécamp, 59
 Fires, 62, 63
 Fitz-Benedict, Roger, 183
 Flashmire, 2
 Fleming, Bp., 70, 84, 113, 140
 Foresters, 10, 11
 Forum, xiii, xiv
 Foss Dyke, 2, 3, 41, 218, 220
 Fosse Way, 2
 Foster, Wm., 227
 Fowler, Hodgson, 185
 Fox, Sir Francis, 73
 Franciscans.—*See* Grey Friars
 Fry, Dean, 74, 92
 Fuller, Bp., 72, 98, 135
- Gainsborough, 34, 49
 Gainsborough, Richard of, 69, 124
 Geoffrey Plantagenet, 14, 64, 120
 Gilbertines, 18, 187, 191
 Gilds, 25-32, 223, 224
 Giles, S., Hospital of, 191
 Giraldus Cambrensis, 12, 62, 92
 Gleaning, 210
 Gloucester, Earl of, 7, 63, 150
 Goddard, Thomas, 148
- Godfrey, R. S., 73
 Goode, 48
 Gough, xiv
 Grammar School, 228-31
 Grande Chartreuse, 9, 12, 13
 Gantham family, 188, 189
 Gravesend, Richard de, 68, 99, 107
 Greestone Stairs, 19, 161, 247
 Grey Friars, 15, 19, 20, 174, 191, 230, 237,
 249
 Grosseteste, xiii, 19-23, 67, 72, 75-9, 107,
 117, 131, 210
 Guildhall, 157, 158, 213, 248
 Guild Pageants, 204, 205
 Gyffard, Obert, 154
- Hall, Wm., 52, 53, 54
 Halimotes, 6
 Harlequin Inn, 201
 Haverholme, 63
 Haya family, 150, 151
 Heming, A. O., 177
 Henrietta Maria, Queen, 46
 Henry I, 7, 129, 145, 190, 245
 II, 8-12, 25, 64, 130, 189, 190, 198
 III, 15, 17, 20, 24, 68, 131
 IV, 26, 32, 33
 VI, 212, 221
 VII, 35, 36, 37, 211, 214, 221
 VIII, 33, 37, 38, 39, 41, 70, 98, 116, 128,
 134, 210
 Heron, Sir Edward, 43, 46
 High Bridge, 163, 166, 174
 High School for Girls, 232
 Hilton, Wm., 115
 Hodshone, Alderman, 207
 Holbeck, Bp., 72, 118, 132
 Holles, Gervase, 133
 Holy Innocents, Hospital of, 190, 245
 Holy Sepulchre, Hospital of, 191
 Honeywood, Dean, 72, 126
 Honorius, Abp., 3, 168
 Hornby and Newsum, 226
 Hospitallers, 21, 22, 200
 Hospitals, etc., 193-5
 Hostel, Bishop's, 182
 Hotham, 42, 46, 47
 Hovenden, 64
 Howard, Catherine, 40, 135, 210
 Howard, John, 54
 Hugh, S., xiii, 9-14, 56, 64, 65, 71, 72, 77,
 82, 91, 96, 101, 112, 114, 117, 118,
 171
 Hugh, S., Little, 15, 68, 104, 197

- Hugh de Wells.—*See* Wells.
 Hull, 42, 45, 46, 47
 Huntingdon, Henry of, 4, 5, 6, 7, 118
 Hussey, Lord, 38, 39, 40
 Hutton, Canon V. W., 181

 Icen, 1
 Imp, Lincoln, 111
 Innocent IV, Pope, 21, 22
 Insignia of the City, 213-5
 Insurrection, Lincolnshire, 37-40, 128
 Ivo Taillebois, 5, 150

 James I, 40, 175, 188, 210, 212
 Jeffreys, Judge, 51
 Jews, xiii, 13, 14-6, 104, 183, 190, 196
 Jews' Court, 197
 House, 15, 182, 196
 John (King), 13, 16, 25, 151
 John of Gaunt, 32, 145, 147, 151, 180,
 200
 Joliffe, Randolph, 171, 172
 Joust of Lincoln, 8
 Jurassic limestone escarpment, xi

 Katherine's, S., Priory, 64, 145, 178, 187,
 191
 Kaye, Bp., 71, 107, 136
 Keep, The, 144, 146
 King, Bp., 56, 93, 98, 124, 127, 129, 136,
 171, 177, 182, 236
 King John.—*See* John
 Kirkstead, 39

 Lacy, Henry de, 151
 Lancaster, Earl of, 32, 151
 Duke of, 32, 97, 152
 Langton, Stephen, 66
 Lawcock, Gregory, 224
 Lawmen, 4, 5
 Lee-Hicks, Bp., 107
 Leicester, 2, 4, 32, 35, 58, 71, 152
 Leland, 68, 165
 Leofwin, Bp., 3, 59
 Lepers, 12, 61, 190, 245
 Lexington, Bp., 68, 107
 Lincoln halfpence, 225
 Lincoln Technical College, 234
 Lincoln's Inn, 151
 Lincoln, Earl of, 7, 31, 150, 151, 152, 214
 Lindum, xii, xiii, 1, 2, 3, 60, 74, 130, 153,
 154, 156
 Lloyd, Rev. P. R., 181
 Llyndun, xii, 1

 London, Council of, 6
 Longland, Bp., 38, 70, 83, 115, 116, 132
 Lucy, wife of Ivo Taillebois, 150
 Lucy, Countess, 146, 150
 Lucy Tower, The, 146, 157

 Mackarel, 38
 Madison, Canon A. R., 113
 Magnus Barfod, 7
 Mainwaring, Charles, 136
 Malandry Fields, 190, 245
 Malmesbury, William of, 218
 Manchester, Earl of, 47, 48, 133, 138, 152
 Margaret of Anjou, 34, 212
 Margaret, Queen, 83
 Mary Magdalene, S., Priory of, 189
 Mason (Town Clerk), 52, 53
 Massey Mainwaring, W. F., 190
 Matilda (or Maud), Empress, 7, 62, 150,
 218
 Matthew Paris, 15, 18, 67, 118
 Mayor of Lincoln (first), 202
 Merchants' Guildhall, 200
 Melton, Nicholas, 37
 Middlebrook, John and Mary, 175
 Minster (the name), 57, 58
 Mint, 216, 217
 Mint Wall, xii, 168, 217
 Monks' Abbey, 189, 247
 Monkton, Sir Philip, 49, 50, 135
 Monson family, 192, 230, 232, 237
 Moore, Temple, 172, 177, 235
 Mote Bell, 157

 Neile, Bp., 133
 Nelthorpe, Edward, 136
 Newark, 41, 63, 80, 132, 205, 222
 Newcastle, Earl of, 46
 New Jersey, 141
 Newlandgate, 162
 Newport Arch, xii, 153, 154, 236
 Nicholas de la Haya, 16, 17, 18, 151
 Nicholson, Sir Charles, 73, 178
 Noiers, Geoffrey of, 65, 201
 North Gate, 160
 Nottingham, 4, 16, 36, 45, 47, 48, 71, 222

 Observatory Tower, 144, 146
 'Old Kate,' 175, 176, 178
 Oxford, 3, 19, 20, 58, 59, 67, 71, 75, 92,
 113, 115, 116, 122, 231

 Palace, Bishop's, 129-37
 Paulinus, Bp., 3, 168, 170, 171, 184

- Peart, Original, 42, 49, 50, 51, 53
 Perche, Count of, 17
 Petilius Cerealis, 1
 Pipe Rolls, 202
 Plantagenet, Geoffrey, 14, 64
 Pottergate Arch, 159, 160, 161
 Pownall family, 141
 Prison, 54, 149
 Pryme, de la, 50
 Public Library, 238
 Pugin, 102, 194
 Purefoy, 47
 Purvis, W. R., 193

 Radulf Niger, 126
 Ravenna Catalogue, 2
 Remigius, xiii, 6, 58-63, 75, 76, 91, 92,
 116, 117, 125, 190, 191, 245
 Reyner, Edward, 41, 47, 49, 51
 Rich, Abp. Edmund, 21
 Richard I, 11, 12, 13, 16, 216, 217
 II, 26, 214
 III, 33, 37
 Richmond, G., 98
 Riseholme Hall, 136
 Robey (firm), 226
 Roger of Wendover, 12, 18
 Roman remains, xiii, 139, 156, 173, 179
 Roman walls, 154, 155
 Roman roads, 2
 Ross, John, 31
 Rossiter, Col., 47
 Rouen, 14, 60, 130
 Abp. of, 16, 64, 66
 Russell, Bp., 70, 83, 115, 119, 139
 Ruston family, 115, 232, 240

 Sac and Soke, 5, 6
 Sack, Friars of the, 19
 Sallyport, 129, 145, 146, 155
 Sanderson, Bp., 120, 135
 Saxon inscription, 173
 Schalby, John de, 24, 131
 Scholae Cancellarii, 137, 235
 Scott, Sir Gilbert, 103, 184
 Segelocum, 154, 156
 Sharpe, H., 246
 Shuttleworth family, 141, 180, 183
 Sibthorp family, 194, 195, 201
 Sidnacester, 3, 58, 59
 Sincil Dyke, 2, 162, 163
 Slator, Dr. Gordon, 99
 Smirke, Sir Robert, 149

 Smith, Bp. Wm., 92, 132
 Smith, Precentor, 97
 Smith, Dr. Richard, 232, 233
 South, (Town Clerk), 53
 Staple, 1, 33, 166, 203, 218-21
 Staple, Ordinance of, 24
 Stephen, 7, 8, 32, 62, 63, 129, 130, 147,
 148, 150, 151
 Stokes, L., 232
 Stonebow, xv, 157, 179, 213, 223
 Storr, Wm., 231
 Stow, 13, 14, 58, 61, 63, 69, 71, 131, 132
 'Stuff Ball,' 225, 239
 Stukeley, Dr., 168
 Sunday trading, 206, 207
 Sutton, A. and F., 89
 Sutton family, 19, 200
 Sutton, Bp., 68, 69, 118, 124, 138, 139, 159
 Swan, S. Hugh's, 12, 13
 Swanpool, xii
 Swayne, Bp., 72, 184
 Swine Green, 145, 188
 Swineherd of Stow, 68, 77
 Swynford, Katharine, 33, 117
 Sympson, Mansel, 6
 Sympson, Thomas, 31

 Tailbois, Sir George, 97
 Taillebois, Ivo, 5, 150
 'Tanks,' 227
 Templars, 21, 22, 69, 128
 Tennyson, 85, 141
 Teulon, 182
 Thol and Theam, 6
 Tilney, Philip, 19
 Trade Regulations, 206, 219, 223
 Trollope, Bp., 76, 104, 136
 Trollope Swan, C., 181

 Usher Art Gallery, 237
 Usher, James Ward, 237

 Vagrants, 209, 221
 Vegetation, xiv
 Venables, Precentor, 112, 139
 Victorinus, Emperor, 156

 Waits, 205, 206
 War, The Great, xv, 96, 226
 Wars of the Roses, 34, 152
 Ward, Dean, 97
 Watling Street, 4
 Watts, G. F., 85

- Wedmore, Treary of, 4
 Welbourn, John de, 70, 77, 86, 103, 111
 Welbourne, Verger, 111
 Wells, Hugh de, Bp., 21, 66, 67, 118, 131,
 169
 Welles, Lord, 34, 35
 Welles, Sir Robert, 34, 35
 Wesley, John, 55
 Westmacott, 107
 Wetherall, Richard, 42
 Whalley, Maj.-Gen., 53
 Wheteley, Wm. of, 228
 White Friars, 19, 192
 Wilkeford (Wigford), 8, 162, 180
 William I, xiii, 5, 11, 14, 59, 60, 61, 125,
 142, 143, 150, 202, 247, 248
 III, 54, 225
 Williams, Col. J. G., 42
 Williams, W. J., 26, 30
 Willis, Brown, 119
 Willis (organ-builder), 99
 Willoughby, Lord, 43-7, 50, 51, 52
 Windsor, Council of, 6
 Wint, Peter de, 115
 Witham (river), xi, xiv
 Wool Trade, 216-9, 221, 224
 Wordsworth, Bp., 118, 136, 137, 177, 181,
 235
 Wray, Sir Cecil, 55
 Wray family, 177
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 70, 85, 112, 124,
 125, 126
 Wrosse, Robert, 52, 53, 54
 Wulfwy, 59
 Wycliffe, John, 113, 161
 Wymbysh, Prior, 115
 York, 3, 4, 43, 58, 71, 74, 135, 142, 153,
 189, 247
 York, Abp. of, 25, 60, 64

